This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

Über dieses Buch

Dies ist ein digitales Exemplar eines Buches, das seit Generationen in den Regalen der Bibliotheken aufbewahrt wurde, bevor es von Google im Rahmen eines Projekts, mit dem die Bücher dieser Welt online verfügbar gemacht werden sollen, sorgfältig gescannt wurde.

Das Buch hat das Urheberrecht überdauert und kann nun öffentlich zugänglich gemacht werden. Ein öffentlich zugängliches Buch ist ein Buch, das niemals Urheberrechten unterlag oder bei dem die Schutzfrist des Urheberrechts abgelaufen ist. Ob ein Buch öffentlich zugänglich ist, kann von Land zu Land unterschiedlich sein. Öffentlich zugängliche Bücher sind unser Tor zur Vergangenheit und stellen ein geschichtliches, kulturelles und wissenschaftliches Vermögen dar, das häufig nur schwierig zu entdecken ist.

Gebrauchsspuren, Anmerkungen und andere Randbemerkungen, die im Originalband enthalten sind, finden sich auch in dieser Datei – eine Erinnerung an die lange Reise, die das Buch vom Verleger zu einer Bibliothek und weiter zu Ihnen hinter sich gebracht hat.

Nutzungsrichtlinien

Google ist stolz, mit Bibliotheken in partnerschaftlicher Zusammenarbeit öffentlich zugängliches Material zu digitalisieren und einer breiten Masse zugänglich zu machen. Öffentlich zugängliche Bücher gehören der Öffentlichkeit, und wir sind nur ihre Hüter. Nichtsdestotrotz ist diese Arbeit kostspielig. Um diese Ressource weiterhin zur Verfügung stellen zu können, haben wir Schritte unternommen, um den Missbrauch durch kommerzielle Parteien zu verhindern. Dazu gehören technische Einschränkungen für automatisierte Abfragen.

Wir bitten Sie um Einhaltung folgender Richtlinien:

+ *Nutzung der Dateien zu nichtkommerziellen Zwecken* Wir haben Google Buchsuche für Endanwender konzipiert und möchten, dass Sie diese Dateien nur für persönliche, nichtkommerzielle Zwecke verwenden.

+ *Keine automatisierten Abfragen* Senden Sie keine automatisierten Abfragen irgendwelcher Art an das Google-System. Wenn Sie Recherchen über maschinelle Übersetzung, optische Zeichenerkennung oder andere Bereiche durchführen, in denen der Zugang zu Text in großen Mengen nützlich ist, wenden Sie sich bitte an uns. Wir fördern die Nutzung des öffentlich zugänglichen Materials für diese Zwecke und können Ihnen unter Umständen helfen.

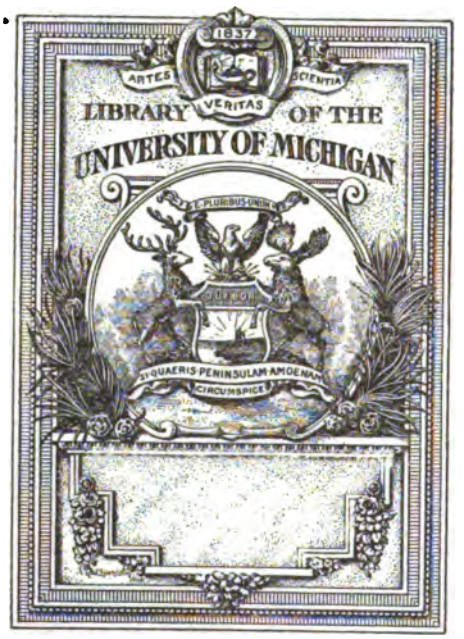
+ *Beibehaltung von Google-Markenelementen* Das "Wasserzeichen" von Google, das Sie in jeder Datei finden, ist wichtig zur Information über dieses Projekt und hilft den Anwendern weiteres Material über Google Buchsuche zu finden. Bitte entfernen Sie das Wasserzeichen nicht.

+ *Bewegen Sie sich innerhalb der Legalität* Unabhängig von Ihrem Verwendungszweck müssen Sie sich Ihrer Verantwortung bewusst sein, sicherzustellen, dass Ihre Nutzung legal ist. Gehen Sie nicht davon aus, dass ein Buch, das nach unserem Dafürhalten für Nutzer in den USA öffentlich zugänglich ist, auch für Nutzer in anderen Ländern öffentlich zugänglich ist. Ob ein Buch noch dem Urheberrecht unterliegt, ist von Land zu Land verschieden. Wir können keine Beratung leisten, ob eine bestimmte Nutzung eines bestimmten Buches gesetzlich zulässig ist. Gehen Sie nicht davon aus, dass das Erscheinen eines Buchs in Google Buchsuche bedeutet, dass es in jeder Form und überall auf der Welt verwendet werden kann. Eine Urheberrechtsverletzung kann schwerwiegende Folgen haben.

Über Google Buchsuche

Das Ziel von Google besteht darin, die weltweiten Informationen zu organisieren und allgemein nutzbar und zugänglich zu machen. Google Buchsuche hilft Lesern dabei, die Bücher dieser Welt zu entdecken, und unterstützt Autoren und Verleger dabei, neue Zielgruppen zu erreichen. Den gesamten Buchtext können Sie im Internet unter `http://books.google.com` durchsuchen.

B 1,499,800


1837
ARTES
VERITAS
SCIENTIA
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
SI QUAERIS PENINSULAM AMOENAM
CIRCUMSPICE

820
D 61

Dissertations:English philology.v.37.

1. Bruce,J.D. The Anglo-Saxon version of the book of Psalms commonly known as the Paris Psalter.
2. Gorrell,J.H. Indirect discourse in Anglo-Saxon.
3. Smith,C:A. The order of words in Anglo-Saxon prose.
4. Tupper, Frederick. Anglo-Saxon Daeg-mael.

From Johns Hopkins Univ
Sept. 1894

THE

ANGLO-SAXON VERSION OF THE BOOK OF PSALMS COMMONLY KNOWN AS THE PARIS PSALTER

112818

DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES
OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

J. DOUGLAS BRUCE

ASSOCIATE IN ANGLO-SAXON AND MIDDLE ENGLISH AT
BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

[Reprinted from the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. IX, No. 1]

BALTIMORE
THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
1894

THE

ANGLO-SAXON VERSION OF THE BOOK OF PSALMS COMMONLY KNOWN AS THE PARIS PSALTER

DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES
OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

J. DOUGLAS BRUCE

ASSOCIATE IN ANGLO-SAXON AND MIDDLE ENGLISH AT
BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

[Reprinted from the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. IX, No. 1]

BALTIMORE
THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
1894

JOHN MURPHY & CO., PRINTERS,
BALTIMORE.

PREFACE.

The following dissertation should be prefaced, I think, by a word of explanation with reference to a portion of the work which will be found to be embraced within its pages. The original design of the investigation which it embodies, as the title indicates, was simply to carry out an exact comparison of the Anglo-Saxon with its Latin original, with a view to determining from the material thus accumulated the precise nature of the translation and so to contribute to the solution of the questions concerning authorship and date of composition which pertain to this version. Having been led, however, in my search for the source of the arguments of the Anglo-Saxon, to the commentary, *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis*, and having observed that in this work the originals of those arguments were, at last, found, I was somewhat startled at the singular character of these originals, which presented interpretations of the Psalms differing radically from any in the medieval commentaries with which I had become familiar. It was in consequence of an endeavor to satisfy myself as to the origin of the peculiarities in question that I was led to detect the substantial coincidence of these interpretations with those which were reproduced by Prof. Baethgen from the Syriac MS., Sachau, 215. In view of the quite exceptional interest which attaches to the author of the interpretations just mentioned, namely, Theodore of Mopsuestia, I was impelled by the encouragement of some of the most competent judges in matters of Psalm criticism to work out the relations of the Latin arguments to the other sources of evidence regarding Theodore's interpretation of the Psalms as a matter of independent scientific value. That this task should be assumed seemed all the more called for, inasmuch as in the case of twenty of the psalms there was a rather striking divergence from the testimony of the Syriac epitome, for example. The relations, however, of the Latin arguments not only to the Greek fragments and Syriac superscriptions, but also to the Latin commentary in which they are found proved not so easy of determination as they appeared in the beginning, so that I soon found myself drawn very far away from the original object of my investigation, the

only connection between the Anglo-Saxon translation and the Greek commentary on which this portion of the investigation mainly hinges being one of ultimate source. I have, nevertheless, incorporated the results of this investigation along with the work which relates more exclusively to the Anglo-Saxon version in spite of the disproportion caused thereby in the form of the presentation. I shall hope for my justification from the value of the results themselves, and from the reflected interest which the Anglo-Saxon gains by being brought into connection, even though it be an indirect one, with a man of truly extraordinary genius whose influence reaches into our own times, as some of the latest criticism of the Psalter attests.

In conclusion, I have only to return thanks to the scholars with whom I have been brought into relations in the course of this investigation. I should first mention in this connection my former teacher, Dr. James W. Bright, of the Johns Hopkins University, to whom I owe the suggestion of a new study of the Paris Psalter. I should, also, especially express my gratitude to Prof. T. K. Cheyne, of Oxford, and Prof. Friedrich Baethgen, of Greifswald, for the encouragement which they have extended me in the progress of my work. To the latter I owe, in addition, the substantial favor of having put me into communication with the Abbé Morin of Maredsous, Belgium, my obligations to whose valuable assistance at a turning-point in my investigation I have endeavored to express in a fitting manner elsewhere. To Prof. Cheyne especial acknowledgments are, furthermore, due for the article in *The Thinker* for June, 1893, pp. 496 ff., in which he has kindly called attention to the first results of my investigation as presented very imperfectly in *Modern Language Notes*, February, 1893. I have nothing to object to in Prof. Cheyne's article, except that I do not think that a reader unacquainted with my original article in *Modern Language Notes* would judge from it that I had, myself, recognized the interpretations of *Exegesis* as derived from Theodore of Mopsuestia. My appreciation, however, of the author's kindness is in no wise diminished by this unintentional oversight. It only remains for me to return thanks finally to my friend and colleague, Dr. George A. Barton, for having furnished me with English renderings of superscriptions in the Syriac Epitome left untranslated in Prof. Baethgen's articles.

THE ANGLO-SAXON VERSION OF THE BOOK OF PSALMS COMMONLY KNOWN AS THE PARIS PSALTER.

In consideration of the comparatively slight attention which has been hitherto given to the Anglo-Saxon Version of the Book of Psalms, preserved in the Paris MS. Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds latin, 8824, and first published by Benjamin Thorpe, Oxford, 1855,[1] it has seemed not undesirable that a new study should be undertaken of the questions which concern the relation of this version to its Latin original. Apart from the intrinsic interest which a study of this subject might possess, it seemed especially desirable, in the present instance, in consequence of the question which has latterly been raised by Wülker (*Grundriss zur Geschichte der Angelsächsischen Litteratur*, III, § 501) with reference to the authorship of the prose portion of the Paris Psalter, a question on which the discovery of any hitherto unrecognized sources used by the Anglo-Saxon translator might be supposed to throw some light.

A reference to the bibliography of the Paris Psalter given by Wülker, *Grundriss*, III, §§ 424,—or rather to the contents of the works there cited,—will show how meagre was the literature of the subject at the date of this publication, 1885. Since the publication of the *Grundriss*, however, and, doubtless, under Prof. Wülker's influence, there has appeared the first attempt at an exhaustive investigation of either the prose or metrical divisions of the Paris Psalter. I refer to the article of J. Wichmann, entitled "König Aelfreds angelsächsische Übertragung der Psalmen I–LI Excl." *Anglia*, XI, 39–96, which deals with the prose division alone. Wichmann's article or dissertation bears evidence of having been prepared

[1] *Libri Psalmorum, versio antiqua latina cum paraphrasi Anglo-Saxonica, partim soluta oratione, partim metrice composita, nunc primum e cod. MS. in Bibl. Regia Parisiensi adservato* descripsit et edidit Benjamin Thorpe.

with great industry at least. The purpose, however, with which he starts out,—namely, to substantiate Wülker's conjecture of Alfredian authorship,—leads him frequently, I think, to unwarranted conclusions in favor of that hypothesis on grounds that are ill-considered or even trivial, tends to vitiate his discussion. The change of face for example that we find on page 51 in the words: "so glaubhaft es nach vorangegangener untersuchung erschien in dem verfasser unserer übertragung einen kleriker zu vermuten, so entschieden sprechen dagegen mehrere stellen der bearbeitung selbst," will certainly come to most readers as a surprise which I do not believe will be entirely dissipated by the partial discussion of the cited passages (pp. 84–95)—for it is to be noted that all the passages cited do not meet with the promised discussion. I shall have occasion later on to speak in detail of the instances referred to above. More important, however, than the considerations just mentioned even is the fact which appears from the following investigation, that there were sources used by the translator of Ps. I–L, which escaped the researches of Wichmann, and in the light of which the question of authorship requires a new discussion.

Date of the MS. and identity of the scribe.

It is unnecessary to repeat the description of the MS. given in Thorpe's Præfatio, vi, which is supplemented by G. Tanger in his collation of the Paris Psalter with Thorpe's edition, *Anglia*, VI, Anzeiger, pp. 125–127.

The date of the MS. has been accepted, with little variation, as the eleventh century. The author of the descriptive text which accompanies the facsimile[1] from the Paris Psalter

[1] There are, also, facsimiles from the Paris Psalter (1) in Appendix B to Mr. Cooper's *Report on Rymer's Foedera* (undated). He reproduces Ps. 150, verses 2 and 3, also a portion of the last page of the volume in which the Psalter is preserved, including the scribe's note at the end and the Duke of Berry's signature. (2) *Paleographia Sacra Pictoria* by J. O. Westwood,

of the Anglo-Saxon introduction to Ps. 45, in J. B. Silvestre's *Paléographie Universelle* (Paris, 1841 ff., Plate CCXXXI), speaks of the MS. as "généralement assigné au XII[e] siécle"—on no authority, however, as far as I can discover. Dietrich, Grein and Wülker (see Wichmann, *Anglia*, XI, p. 63) have concurred in assigning it to the preceding century. It is more important, perhaps, that I am able to add to the opinions of these scholars the authority of two eminent palæographists, the late Sir Frederic Madden, and M. Leopold Delisle, director-general of the Bibliothéque Nationale at Paris. In a copy of the Paris Psalter presented to Sir Frederic Madden by his "good friend, Dr. Bliss, November 23, 1835," as appears from the words which he has written on the title-page, I find opposite Thorpe's note, Præfatio, vii, "e manu judicans, codicem seculi duodecimi esse dixerim" the words, "certainly of the 11th. F. M.," with an interjection expressive of contempt added. Fifteen years later when he came to translate the *Paléographie Universelle* of Silvestre, he expressed the same opinion, though with less impatience, in his "*Universal Palæography*, translated from the French, and edited with corrections and notes" (London, 1850), II, 638, note. The words there are: "More probably of the eleventh century." This conclusion agrees with that adopted by Wichmann (p. 63 f.). His "Cott. B, IV" is presumably "Cott. Tiberius B, IV," a leaf from which is reproduced in facsimile in *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, Plate 20.

The opinion of M. Delisle is found in his article entitled "Notes sur la Bibliothéque de la sainte Chapelle de Bourges," *Bibliothéque de l'école des chartes*. Quatrième Série, Tom. II, p. 147 f., 1856. He pronounces the handwriting "écriture anglo-saxonne du onzième siècle." As appears from this description, the MS. of which our Psalter forms a part contains

London, 1843–45, Plate No. II, illustrating Anglo-Saxon Psalters, contains a reproduction of Ps. 45, verse 1 (in part), together with signature of the Duke of Berry. The different impression as to the handwriting of the MS. which is produced by these different facsimiles makes one despair.

other pieces. "Après le psautier ont été transcrits differents cantiques sacrés, le symbole de saint Athanase, et les litanies des Saints." The MS. was written, as M. Delisle observes, apparently for a woman. "C'est ce qu'on peut conjecturer de la formule d'une oraison copiée au fol. 195 v." col. 2. "Te deprecor, Domine michi famule (*vel* famulo) tue (vel tuo) et famulis et famulabus tuis per intercessionem, &c." There are important inferences to be drawn, I think, from the statements with reference to two points of so experienced a palæographist as M. Delisle.

1. The inference that the whole of the Paris Psalter was written by one hand. Making no distinction as to the parts of the books in which it is found, he observes, "Le copiste s'est fait connaitre par cette souscription: Hoc psalterii carmen regis David, etc."—the concluding note of the volume. This is contrary to the suggestion of Wichmann (p. 42) that the Latin and Anglo-Saxon columns were not by the same scribe.

2. The handwriting is Anglo-Saxon. This is contrary to Thorpe's suggestion—made for reasons that will later appear—that the MS. was the work of a Gallic monk. A palæographist so familiar with all periods of French chirography as M. Delisle, would hardly have pronounced the handwriting in that event as "écriture anglo-saxonne."

After the weight of opinion indicated above which has been almost unchallenged, we may safely accept the eleventh century as the period when our manuscript was written. There is only one other circumstance of interest which M. Delisle points out in regard to the MS. This is the remarkable position which is assigned to Saint Martial, the Apostle of Limousin, in the Litanies of the Saints which conclude the volume. He is there placed on the same level with the Apostles and Evangelists. Anglo-Saxon Saints, however, largely predominate in these litanies which M. Delisle has printed entire, pp. 148–151.

On observing the identity between the names of the scribes of the Paris Psalter and of the Cotton MS. Otho, C. 1, one of the MSS. of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, I was encouraged to believe that a clue had been found which would enable me to fix the locality, also, in which the Psalter was written. I say identity, notwithstanding a slight but common variation which appears in comparing the name as it is found in the Anglo-Saxon and Latin forms respectively, that is to say, *Wulfwi* in the first, *Wulfwinus* in the second. Compare, for instance, the name of the bishop of Dorchester in Oxfordshire, given in the Abingdon chronicle for the year 1053, with the same name in its Latinized form as it appears in Florence of Worcester, *Monumenta Hist. Britannica*, p. 624, Wulfwinus as well as Wulfwius. Similarly, the name of the Abbot of Newminster, who occupied that dignity from 1034 to 1057, appears in the *Liber de Hyda* as *Elfwy* by the side of *Alwinus* (*Fasti Monastici aevi Saxonici*, by W. de Gray Birch, London, 1872, Preface, VII).

The note in which is disclosed the name of the scribe of the Paris Psalter occurs at the end of the volume. It is as follows: Hoc Psalterii carmen inclyti regis David, sacer Dī Wulfwinus [cognōmto cada] manu sua conscripsit. Quicumque legerit scriptum Animae suae expetiat votum (Thorpe, Facsimile, No. 2). The words enclosed in brackets have been added above the line in what seems to me to be a different hand.

The scribe of the Cotton MS. Otho, C. 1, similarly reveals his name in a note at the end of the Gospel of St. John, the words being *Wulfwi me wrat*. So the correct form of the name has been given by Professor J. W. Bright (see the *Gospel of St. Luke in Anglo-Saxon*, Oxford, 1893, Introduction, XIII, from which passage my knowledge of the other facts relating to this MS. was first obtained). The age of Otho, C. 1, has been accepted by both Skeat and Bright as, approximately, the beginning of the eleventh century. A charter inserted between the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John relates to

Malmesbury in Wiltshire, and would seem to fix sufficiently the locality where Wulfwi wrote.

The age to which the scribes of the two MSS. belong, as has been seen, agrees sufficiently. For though the Paris Psalter may have been written somewhat later in the eleventh century, the two works might well come within the period of one man's activity. Unfortunately, however, a comparison[1] of the handwriting of Otho, C. 1, with the facsimile leaf from the Paris Psalter contained in Silvestre's *Paléographie Universelle* (Plate CCXXXI) made at the British Museum,—a comparison not altogether satisfactory, but the only one possible under the circumstances,—does not confirm the supposition of identity.

The matter, however, is not quite ended with this result. If the conjecture which I shall now mention were correct, the non-identity of hands would be explained, and the scribes who bear the same name and belong to the same age might, after all, have been one person. The conjecture to which I refer is, namely, that of the first editor of the Paris Psalter, Benjamin Thorpe, who was inclined to regard the whole of the MS. as a copy, the note which reveals the name of the scribe, as well as the rest. His words, stating his reasons for this opinion, are as follows:

"Non videtur omnino incredibile codicem nostrum eum non esse quem scripsit Wulfwinus ipse, sed descriptionem ejus a monacho quopiam Gallo factam qui Saxonicae linguae prorsus ignarus esset; nec facile est animo concipere errores paene innumeros quibus refertus est liber aliunde, oriri potuisse: vix enim potuit ipse Wulfwinus in suo ipsius nomine scribendo tam negligens fuisse" (Præfatio, vi).

Bouterwek (*Angelsächsisches Glossar*, Elberfeld und Iserlohn, 1850, XXI) speaks with favor of the conjecture here advanced by Thorpe. For my own part, however, I would

[1] This comparison was kindly made for me at the British Museum by Edward Scott, Esq., with the result indicated in the text.

rather subscribe to the opinion expressed in Sir F. Madden's marginal note to the above passage: "Not at all probable." That the Paris Psalter in each of its divisions represents a copy and not the original MS. of the Anglo-Saxon version of the Psalms, is not only an opinion which has nothing strange in itself, but is a necessary conclusion from considerations which will be touched on later. Mistakes such as *didum* for *tidum* (Ps. 11, 1), *læc* for *læt* (Ps. 35, 10), *innandundum* for *innancundum* (Ps. 118, 2), *heortad* for *heortan* (Ps. 139, 2), besides others which Thorpe has recorded (pp. 441–446) are certainly singular as coming from an Anglo-Saxon copying a document in his own language.[1] The question is one which does not admit of convincing proof, either one way or the other, but, after all, the number of errors, considering the great bulk of the Anglo-Saxon version, does not seem to me to be greater than might be looked for from an ignorant priest, such a one as might be expected to feel the greatest interest in a vernacular translation. Surely, a foreign copyist who was entirely ignorant of the language he was copying, as Thorpe supposes, would have left us a larger number of flagrant errors than we find in the Psalter as we have it.

To consider, however, what is especially to our purpose, the evidence of the concluding note of the Paris Psalter, there are two circumstances which seem to have excited Thorpe's suspicion that this was also copied, like the text itself, from a MS. which lay before the scribe of the Paris Psalter.

1. The use of *sacer*, the adjective, instead of the correct *sacerdos*, in the phrase *Sacer Dñ*.

2. The addition of the words *cognom̄to cada*.

[1] They are not more singular, however, than those which Sievers enumerates *Anglia*, XIII, 311 f., from the *Rule of St. Benet*, *srig* for *frig*, *fers* for *reps*, and many others. Even more to the point are the many senseless forms due to the copyist which are found in the *Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter*, edited by Karl J. Bülbring, London, 1891, E. E. T. S., No. 97, Preface, IX.

The first of these circumstances seems to me rather to confirm the view that the note is original with the copyist of the Paris Psalter, inasmuch as it appears much more likely that a man rather ignorant of Latin, such as, under any supposition, the writer of this note, as we have it, must have been, would erroneously use *sacer* for *sacerdos* on his own account, than that in copying from a MS. which contained the correct form *sacerdos* he should change it to *sacer*. To explain the second circumstance also, it does not seem necessary, for those holding the view that the note is original with the scribe of the Paris Psalter, to suppose that the writer committed a blunder in writing his own name. The words *cognom̄to cada* would seem rather to have been a later addition by a different person who probably knew the full name of the copyist and added the surname to the simple "Wulfwinus" for better distinction. We have certainly a few additions by a second hand in the body of the Anglo-Saxon translation, which Thorpe himself has recorded, namely, the gloss *scuan* over *sceade*, Ps. 90, 4 (see Thorpe, 444), *t* added to *oft*, Ps. 5, 43 (Thorpe, 443), *yrmingas* changed to *yrmingœs*, Ps. 13, 10 (Thorpe, 443). It would not be surprising, then, if the surname had been added by a later hand.[1]

[1] Before quitting the subject of the identity of this scribe, I must enter a protest against the wholly arbitrary manner in which Wichmann (p. 64, f.) seizing upon the name of Bishop Wulfwi mentioned in the Abingdon Chronicle for the year 1053, and Florence of Worcester (*Monumenta Historica Britannica*, 624) has assumed that he was identical with our scribe. His only reason for doing so seems to have been that the Index of the *Monumenta* supplied him with the name of no other Wulfwi or Wulfwius. Surely there must have been more than one person bearing this name in Anglo-Saxon times besides the above mentioned bishop. As a matter of fact, *Wulfwig*, which is identical with it, is found in the Anglo-Saxon Genealogies (s. Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 631). It may be remarked in passing that there was no "Kloster Leogorensis" as Wichmann (p. 65) interprets Florence of Worcester. The *Praesules Leogorenses* of this writer were the Bishops of Dorchester in Oxfordshire, the seat of the Episcopal See which was removed to Lincoln about the year 1086. No abbey was founded in Dorchester till about the year 1140 (s. Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, new edition by Caley, Ellis and Bandinel, London, 1830. Vol. VI, Part I, p. 323).

History of the MS.

An autograph note at the end of the MS.—"Ce livre est au duc de Berry-Jehan," (Thorpe, Facsimile 2)—gives us our earliest authentic knowledge of the history of the book. This Jean, Duke of Berry (1340–1416), was brother of Charles V, King of France, whom he rivalled in the magnificence of his collections of books and treasures of art. The possession of our MS. by Duke Jean is all that was known concerning its history to Thorpe (Praefatio, vi) and Wichmann (p. 41).

However, I am able to supply a considerable number of details which, taken together, form a sufficiently complete account of the vicissitudes to which it has been subjected from the beginning of the fifteenth century down to the present time. My attention was first directed to the subject by some of the details given in the descriptive and historical text accompanying Plate CCXXXI of Silvestre's *Paléographie Universelle.* I subsequently discovered still other details throwing light upon the story of our MS. in a publication of somewhat later date than Silvestre's great work, containing in part an account of documents not known to the authors of the letter-press to the *Paléographie Universelle.* I refer to the *Memoires de la Commission historique du Cher,* Vol. I, Bourges, 1855. The first of the memoirs—by M. Hiver de Beauvoir—covering pp. 1–127, contains a very elaborate account of the collections of MSS. and art treasures which were in the possession of the Duke, and was the occasion of the article of M. Delisle I have already quoted from. I have also consulted M. Delisle's *Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothéque Impériale* (*Nationale*), I, 56 ff., *Librairie du duc Jean de Berry,* III, 172 ff., Appendix to *Librairie du duc Jean* and the *Voyage Litteraire de deux Religieux Benedictins de la congregation de Saint Maur,* Paris, 1717. As MM. Champollion-Figeac et Aimé Champollion Fils, authors of the descriptive text of the *Paléographie Universelle,* however, had before them the inventories, now pre-

served in different libraries of Paris, of the books of the Sainte Chapelle of Bourges which are not accessible to me, I shall follow their account, indicating additions to their knowledge which I have derived from other sources.

It will be seen from this account that the Paris Psalter was one of a series of gifts made by Duke Jean towards the end of his life to the canons of his recent foundation, the Sainte Chapelle at Bourges, being promised them in the year 1404 and delivered in the year 1406. As is suggested by the MM. Champollion, the book probably came into his possession during his nine years' sojourn as a hostage in England, after the peace of Brétigny, 1360. The authors of the descriptive text named above, state that they had before them, (1) "l'etat des manuscrits délivrés alors (that is, 1406) à Arnoul Belin, premier trésorier, et aux chanoines de cette église d'après les ordres du duc par Robinet d'Étampes," (2) "un autre document, non moins curieux pour l'histoire de ces mêmes manuscrits—la copie de l'inventaire des livres existant dans la bibliothéque de la Sainte Chapelle de Bourges, dressé le 17 Novembre, 1552,"[1] (3) "une troisième liste, mais celle-ci est du milieu du dernier siècle, contient les titres de la plupart des plus beaux manuscrits indiqués dans le premier état et le troisième article de cette liste est ainsi conçu 'Les heures du duc Jean, reliées en long; à côté du latin, il y a une colonne d'une traduction qu'on croit d'ancien Anglo-saxon ou d'hongrois.'"

The inference of the MM. Champollion from the traditional title "Les Heures du Duc Jean," that the volume was so-called because it was dedicated to the personal use of the Duke is hardly correct. The volumes in the Duke's collection bearing this title are so numerous that M. Delisle has devoted a special series of articles to them: *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, February, April and May, 1884. Our authors con-

[1] This Latin inventory has been published by M. Delisle, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 4e série, Tome II, pp. 144–146. The Paris Psalter is to be identified with the entry "Psalterium Davidis."

tinue: "Mais nous croyons aussi reconnaître ce même manuscrit dans cette déscription qui est le septiéme article de l'état des manuscrits donnés à la Sainte Chapelle de Bourges le 6 juillet 1406 [i. e., the first of the lists mentioned above. The editors paraphrased the language of the article. I restore the original form, Hiver de Beauvoir, *Mémoire*, p. 97]. 'Un très ancien Psaultier, historié d'ouvrage romain, et au commencement de David jouant de la harpe, et sur les fueillet, paint des armes de France et de Boulougne, couvert de vielle soye, à deux tixus dont en l'un n'a point de fermoir.' Ces mêmes mots se lisent dans l'inventaire de la bibliothéque du duc, dressé en 1402."

The authors then point out how this description tallies with that of the Paris Psalter and explain the only missing feature, namely, the figure of David at the beginning playing on the harp, in the following words: "Ce volume ayant été de nouveau relié en maroquin rouge avec les armes de France sur les plats, vers le milieu du dernier siécle, et le commencement n'existant plus, nous ne pouvons retrouver la figure de David qui avait péri vraisemblablement quand ce volume fut cédé, avec plusieurs autres, par l'église de Bourges à la bibliothéque du roi." The accident here referred to, no doubt, befell the Psalter on the occasion of the sack of Bourges in 1562, during the religious wars. The rich ornaments on the backs of the books, preserved in the Sainte Chapelle, attracted, it seems, the cupidity of the soldiers (*Mémoire*, p. 95).

Our MS., then, passed into the possession of the Sainte Chapelle in 1406.[1] This will explain why it is not mentioned in the *Bibliothéque Protypographique ou Librairies des fils du Roi Jean, Charles V, Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens*, Paris, 1830,—a fact which surprised Thorpe (Præfatio, vi),—for, as I learn from Delisle's *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, I, 56, the inventory of the Duke of Berry's books,

[1] It had already been enumerated among those promised in still another inventory of 1404 (see Hiver, *Memoire*, p. 97). This inventory was not known to the authors of the descriptive text.

used in this work, was not taken till 1416,—and then by order of his executors on the occasion of his death.

The next notice of the Paris Psalter, as far as I discover—one to which I was first directed by a marginal note of Sir F. Madden's—is more than a hundred and fifty years later than the inventory of 1552, mentioned above by the MM. Champollion.

This notice has a special interest, I think, inasmuch as it shows that Gérard Gley (the discoverer of the Munich *Heliand* MS.) was not the first scholar whose attention was attracted by the Paris Psalter, as Thorpe, Præfatio, iii, supposed. Gley's treatise, *Langue et Littérature des anciens Francs*, in which mention[1] is made of the Paris Psalter at p. 276 (see the passage quoted by Thorpe, Præfatio, iii), was published at Paris in 1814. Already, however, in the *Voyage litteraire de deux Religieux Benedictins de la Congregation de Saint Maur* [Martène and Durand], Paris, 1717, I, 28 f., there occurs a notice of our MS. which was still at the Sainte Chapelle in Bourges in 1708, the year that the journey of research of these scholars was undertaken. The severe measures formerly adopted by the Archbishops of Bourges for the preservation of the library of the Sainte Chapelle had been long relaxed, and at the time of the visit of the author of this part of the voyage—Dom Martène—only fifty or sixty volumes remained of the original collection. The place where they were stored was used, also, as a poultry house. The books, being left open on the desks, were, of course, in a pitiable condition,

[1]The occasion of Gley's reference to the Paris Psalter, entirely incidental, does not appear from Thorpe's quotation but is curious. It is in connection with the idea which he expresses cautiously that the Normans did not abandon entirely the Norse language, even after they had become familiar with French, and so were able to read the cognate dialect, Anglo-Saxon—"comprenaient sans doute l'Anglo-Saxon aussi facilement que l'ancien normand." The Psalter, then which was found in a French library, probably came from the Dukes of Normandy.—*Langue et Littérature des anciens Francs*, pp. 275–6.

and one of these was the Paris Psalter. The words of Dom Martène relating to this book are as follows:

"L'un des plus curieux manuscrits de la Sainte Chapelle est celui qu'on appelle les heures du duc Jean. C'est un psautier latin avec une version angloise de six ou sept cens ans. Ceux qui me la montrèrent, croyoient que c'etait de l'allemand ou de l'hebreu. Mais sitôt que je l'eus vu, je connus le caractère Anglo-Saxon. J'en fus encore plus convaincu, lorsqu'examinant les litanies qui sont à la fin, je trouvai que la plûpart des Saints étoient d'Angleterre. Ce livre est conservé dans le chartriers."

It only remains to say that our MS. finally passed into the possession of the Bibliothéque du roi (now the National Library of France), being one of the remnant of the ancient library of the Sainte Chapelle, which the canons presented to Louis XV in 1752 (s. *Delisle, Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, 4ᵉ série*, II, p. 147. Cf., also, inventory of 1752 referred to above in the work of Silvestre).

The Latin Rubrics.

With reference to the Latin rubrics which regularly head the Psalms in the Paris Psalter, we have the following statement of Thorpe's (Præfatio, p. vi): "Ex rubricis Latinis plurimae adeo scatent barbarismis ut vix intelligi possint."

The subject receives no further mention in his preface and is passed over in silence by Wichmann. We should have in our hands, however, the true key to the emendation of these rubrics, if they should prove not to be original, and if we should be able to detect the actual source from which they were drawn. After long and toilsome search, I am able to supply this key which escaped the investigations of Thorpe. With the exception of a few cases of divergence which I shall discuss below, the source in question is in each instance the argument prefixed to the corresponding psalm in the voluminous Latin commentary on the Psalms entitled *In Psalmorum*

Librum Exegesis, now most accessible in Migne's *Patrologiae Latinae cursus completus*, XCIII, 478–1098. The above commentary which I shall cite simply as *Exegesis* was once generally regarded as a work of the Venerable Bede, on the strength of its being included as such by his editors in the earlier editions of Bede's collected works. I shall have occasion, in another section, to speak more fully of this question of authorship.

As will be seen from the examples printed below, the arguments which accompany each psalm in the above mentioned commentary consist regularly of two divisions, the first of which presents an historical interpretation of the particular psalm, and the second, in closer conformity to the medieval spirit, a mystical interpretation, according to which the Psalm is conceived as the voice of Christ, or of the Church, or of the Apostles. In the Latin rubrics of the Paris Psalter, we do not anywhere find a reproduction of one of these arguments in full. On the other hand, the rubrics are, indeed, made up of entire sentences, in rare instances, or as a rule, of parts of sentences which are derived from the corresponding arguments. The obscurity, then, which perplexed the editor of the Paris Psalter is due to the abbreviated or fragmentary form in which these rubrics appear as compared with their originals. Corruptions of the text in copying have come in to render the obscurity, natural in such a relation, still greater.

As I shall reproduce in full the arguments to the first fifty psalms further on in another connection, I shall, in this place, only cite specimens of these arguments to illustrate the relation which exists between them and the Latin rubrics of the Paris Psalter. As the rubrics, however, to the last hundred psalms are also drawn from the corresponding arguments in *Exegesis*, I shall cite them in the following categories along with the rest, although they do not properly come within the plan of this study, so that all rubrics of the Paris Psalter, the metrical as well as the prose division, will be seen to be derived from *Exegesis*.

Distinguishing five kinds of relations in which the different rubrics of the Paris Psalter stand to their corresponding sentences in the arguments of *Exegesis*, I shall illustrate each relation by one example, citing after it the other psalms which exhibit the same relation.

It should be premised that the Latin rubrics of seven psalms[1] are wanting in our MS., viz., Ps. 22, 32, 38, 51, 80, 97, 109. The rubric for Ps. 30, which had been overlooked by Thorpe, was recovered by Tanger, *Anglia*, VI, Anz., p. 131, n.

1. The rubric of the Paris Psalter is identical with a sentence or sentences of the corresponding argument of *Exegesis*. For example, Ps. 10:

Vox Christi est. Lege ad Genesim: perditio Sodomae. Thorpe, p. 20.

Aliter vox Christi est. Lege ad Genesim. Perditio Sodomae. *Exegesis*, p. 544.

So likewise: Ps. 3, 9 (only punctuation different), 16, 19, 20, 25, 29, 30, 37, 39 (only Psalter has *Christus* for *Christum*. —*Exegesis*, 692), 40, 48, 53, 55, 57, 59 (only *apostoli* for *apostolorum*.—*Exegesis*, 792), 61, 63, 64, 68, 70, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78 (only *post passionem* instead of *de passione*.—*Exegesis*, 910), 81 (only *ad Judaeos* instead of *de Judaeis*.—*Exegesis*, 924), 87, 88, 91, 98, 104, 105, 106, 111 (only *conversionis* instead of *reversionis*.—*Exegesis*, 1038), 115, 121, 122, 123, 124, 127, 128, 131, 133, 137, 138, 143 (only the Vulgate title used), 144, 145, 146, 148. Thus fifty-three in all. There are seven psalms besides, which show the same identity with very slight variations. They may be arranged most conveniently under this head, and are as follows: (a) identical, with slight change of order, Ps. 85, 93, 147; (b) identical, except for slight substitution of words, 15 (Psalter has *oravit* for *deprecatur*.—*Exegesis*, 557), 18 (*David* for *pro-*

[1] As two of the three works which enter especially into the following discussion show the Vulgate numbering of the Psalms, I shall cite according to that numbering throughout.

pheta.—Exegesis, 579; *dicit* is, also, differently placed), 35 (*dicit* for *dicitur.—Exegesis*, 666, cf. Tanger, p. 132), 56 (*quando fugiebat* for *cum fugeret.—Exegesis*, 778. This is from the Vulgate title only).

2. The rubric of the Paris Psalter reproduces sentence or sentences of the corresponding argument of *Exegesis*, in fragmentary or abbreviated form. For example, Ps. 44:

Propheta de Christo ad Ecclesiam dicit de regina auri (sic). Thorpe, p. 109.

Propheta de Christo ad Ecclesiam dicit, *legendus ad Evangelium Matthaei* de regina Austri. *Exegesis*, 714.

Or Ps. 67, to illustrate another variety of abbreviation:

Prophetae (sic) resurrectionem Christi. Thorpe, p. 166.

Propheta resurrectionem Christi *et posteriores glorias annuntiat. Exegesis*, 828.

So likewise: Ps. 1, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 26, 28, 33 (punctuation, also, different), 34, 42, 47, 52, 54, 60, 62, 66 (Psalter has, also, *benedicebant* for *benedicerent.—Exegesis*, 825), 73 (cf. Tanger, *Anglia*, VI, Anz., p. 136), 82, 90, 94, 95, 99, 100, 101, 103, 107, 108, 114, 134 (*Exegesis* contains much besides this Vulgate rubric), 140, 149. Thus thirty-five in all. To these are to be added three Psalms which show the same peculiarity with slight change of order, viz., Ps. 5, 41, 150.

3. The rubrics of the Paris Psalter are identical with a sentence or sentences of *Exegesis*, with the addition, however, of certain words in the Psalter. To make the relation obvious I will give these rubrics italicizing the words not found in *Exegesis*.

Ps. 65. Vox *Christi et* Apostolorum ad populum.—Cf. *Exegesis*, 819.

Ps. 79. Vox Apostolorum pro Ecclesia et Christi ad Patrem (*Exegesis* has *de* for *pro*, *Dominum* for *Patrem*, 914).

Ps. 84. Vox apostolica de novello populo, *ad Dominum* (*Exegesis*, 935, has here, also, *ad novellum populum*).

Ps. 86. *In finem* filiis Chore Psalmus Cantici. Vox apostolica de ecclesia.—*Exegesis*, 944.

Ps. 92. *Vox populi.* Redditum de Babyloniae (sic) (cf. Tanger, p. 137; *Exegesis*, 981).

Ps. 96. *Alleluia.* Vox Ecclesiae ad adventum Christi (*Exegesis*, 990, has *Domini* for *Christi*).

Ps. 116. Alleluia. Vox Apostolorum *ad gentes.* (This evidently suggested by preceding sentence of the argument .... non solos Judaeos sed etiam omnes gentes ad laudandum convocat Dominum.)—*Exegesis*, 1048.

Ps. 118. Vox Christi ad Patrem de Judaeis et passione sua; *et de adventu suo et ejus regno et judicio.*—*Exegesis*, 1052.

Ps. 119. Canticum graduum. Vox Christi ad Patrem *in passione* de Judaeis.—*Exegesis*, 1084.

Ps. 120. Vox Ecclesiae ad Apostolos *vel ad Christum.* Canticum graduum.—*Exegesis*, 1087.

Ps. 125. Vox Apostolorum de impiis Judaeis *ad Deum.* Canticum Graduum.—*Exegesis*, 1090.

Ps. 126. Vox Christi de futura Ecclesia; ad populum dicit (Argument has, also, *ad futuram Ecclesiam* for *de futura Ecclesia*).—*Exegesis*, 1090.

Ps. 130. Canticum Graduum. Vox ecclesiae regnantis, *vel sanctae Mariae.*—*Exegesis*, 1091.

Ps. 132. Vox ecclesiae *regnantis.*—*Exegesis*, 1092.

Thus fourteen in all.

4. The rubric of the Paris Psalter is an adaptation of a sentence or sentences in the corresponding argument of *Exegesis.* Departures from the expression of the original are very slight.

For example, Ps. 4:

Vox Christi in cruce quando positus fuit. Thorpe, p. 5.

.... Aliter Arnobius exponit quia Deus justitiae exaudivit in cruce positum filium suum.—*Exegesis*, p. 501.

So likewise; Ps. 2, 23, 27, 31, 36, 46, 49, 50, 69, 83 (cf. Tanger, p. 137), 89, 110.

5. The rubric of the Paris Psalter shows no connection with the corresponding argument of *Exegesis.*

These are: Ps. 21 (Rubric—Vox Christi ad Patrem in cruce elevati—was evidently suggested by the opening verse of the

Psalm—Deus, Deus meus respice in me; quare me dereliquisti. Cf. the cry of our Lord, St. Matthew, XXVII, 46), 24, 45, 58, 74, 102, 112, 113, 117 (Rubric—Alleluia, Ut ostendatur hominibus via, id est, Christus, per quam ingreditur ad portam vitae—suggested by verse 19 of same psalm—haec porta Domini, justi intrabunt per eam), 129, 135, 139, 141, 142. Thus fourteen in all.

In the case of all these Psalms just enumerated the rubrics of the Paris Psalter embody mystical interpretations. In the case of all but five, Ps. 102, 112, 117, 135, 139, the arguments of *Exegesis*, contrary to the rule, do not offer any mystical interpretation whatever. This deficiency of the original explains why the transcriber of the rubrics was put to his own invention or the use of other sources in supplying what was evidently the line of interpretation he preferred.

The five remaining cases of divergence which, it is to be noted, all occur in the metrical division of the Psalter, are, I think, also susceptible of explanation.

Ps. 102. Vox Ecclesiae ad *Patrem* suum. This differs from the corresponding argument of *Exegesis*, 999, only in the use of the word *Patrem* for *populum*. The difference could easily be the result of careless transcription, or might rest on a difference of reading between the MS. employed by the transcribers and that which forms the basis of Migne's text.

Ps. 112. Vox Ecclesiae *cum laude Christi*—differs only in having the italicised words instead of *de fidelibus suis.—Exegesis*, 1039. Perhaps, again, a difference of reading. The words seem to have been suggested by the character of the Psalm, which begins *Laudate, pueri, Dominum.*

Ps. 117. Rubric, as stated before, no doubt, suggested by verse 19, but I see no reason for the substitution. Perhaps, again, a difference of reading. Cf. *Exegesis*, 1048.

Ps. 135. Alleluia, Vox Ecclesiae. Appears to be taken by mistake or simply repeated from argument of the preceding Psalm where these words occur. This is rendered more probable by analogy of Ps. 139.

Ps. 139. In finem. Psalmus David, Vox Petri. Evidently taken by mistake or repeated inadvertently from argument to Ps. 138, the only one in *Exegesis* where the words *Vox Petri* occur. The mistake made in case of this Psalm and Ps. 135 would be especially easy, if the MS. from which the rubrics were transcribed resembled towards its close that which was used by the editors of *Exegesis*—that is to say, one in which the arguments followed immediately on each other, separated only by brief *Explanationes*, the intervening commentary failing from Ps. 122 on.

To complete the list of rubrics, I have only to name those of Ps. 6, 7, 43, 136. Ps. 6, 136 (cf. Vulgate title), in respect to one clause, belong under 1; in respect to the other, under 4. Ps. 7 shows its second clause, *Et Ezechias ab hostibus*, is taken in abbreviated form from *Exegesis*, 515. The first clause, with its mystical interpretation, *Vox Christi ad Patrem de Judaeis*, was added by the transcriber because his original, being exclusively historical, supplied him with nothing of the kind. Ps. 43 belongs partly under 1, partly under 3.

It is seen, then, that in every instance except those already enumerated under 5, the rubrics are manifestly drawn from the arguments of *Exegesis*, and even, in the case of the Psalms under this last division, the obvious cause of divergence has been pointed out, an insignificant number excepted, in which the difficulty is, also, susceptible of reasonable explanation.

It is to be observed in connection with the preference for a mystical method of interpretation pointed out above that this is especially noticeable in the metrical division of the Psalter.

Mystical interpretations are, indeed, supplied, as we have seen, in the case of Ps. 7, 21, 24, 45, in the prose division, also, where such were wanting in the original. In the six instances, moreover, in the prose division, where only the historical interpretations are represented in the rubrics, viz., Ps. 20, 23, 26, 31, 33, 37, we find that in the first two the original supplied the transcriber only with historical interpretations. Nevertheless, in the other four instances, we find him tran-

scribing only historical interpretations, though both mystical and historical ones were at his disposal in the original, and showing, therefore, no marked preference for the former. Finally, the rubrics of Ps. 5, 7, 14, 15, 43, in this division show historical and mystical interpretations side by side in the same line.

On the other hand, in the metrical division the transcriber never selects an historical interpretation when there is a choice in the original of historical or mystical, and in no instance does he mingle historical and mystical interpretations in his rubrics. Exclusively historical, often obscure from abbreviation, are the rubrics of Ps. 56, 60, 62, 66, 73, 92, 143 only; of these the rubrics to Ps. 56 and 143 are identical with the Vulgate titles and so do not come into consideration. In the case of the remaining five, the rubrics of the Paris Psalter are drawn from the characteristic historical interpretations of *Exegesis* for the reason that in these psalms the usual alternative mystical interpretations were wanting. The same was true, as we have seen, of Ps. 58, 74, 113, 129, 141, 142, also, but here the mystical interpretations, evidently so necessary for the satisfaction of the transcriber's mind, were supplied, notwithstanding.

The more marked prevalence of mystical interpretation which the rubrics seem to show after Ps. 50, is evidently due, I think, to the fact that in this portion of his work the rubricator was free from the influence of the Anglo-Saxon introductions containing historical matter which lay before him for the first fifty psalms.[1]

[1] It only remains to inquire, In the cases of divergence noted above are the interpretations—mystical in character—which are supplied by the transcriber, original with him or not?

When the transcriber of the rubrics desired interpretations of the character just mentioned, yet failed to find them in his accustomed source—the arguments of *Exegesis*—nothing would seem more natural than that he should have resorted to the succinct exegetical introductions to the Psalms entitled *Explanationes*, which in our Commentary follow immediately upon the Vulgate titles, preceding the Commentary proper. These *Explanationes* are exclusively devoted to a mystical interpretation of the Psalms.

The Anglo-Saxon Introductions.

I shall next proceed to consider the curious Anglo-Saxon arguments or introductions which are found preceding each psalm of the prose division of the Paris Psalter except Ps. 1, 21, 26. It is, probably, due to the negligence of the scribe alone that similar arguments have not been preserved in the case of these three psalms as for the rest.

As a matter of fact, there are three cases, Ps. 58, 74, 141, in which the *Explanationes* might seem to have supplied the corresponding rubrics of the Psalter. I place these below with the necessary extracts from the *Explanationes* in order that the relation may be made clear.

Ps. 58. Vox Christi ad Patrem de Judaeis.—Thorpe, p. 144.

Primo ingressu psalmi orat Dominus ne ei inimici nocere praevaleant; secundo prosequitur quemadmodum in fine saeculi convertendi sint Judaei, et pro eis oratio mirabili pietate deprómitur.—*Exegesis*, p. 786, C.

Ps. 74. Vox Christi de judicio futuro.—Thorpe, p. 197.

Secundo [ingressu] Rex ipse loquitur Christus, justitiam se judicaturum promittens, cum tempus generalis resurrectionis advenerit.—*Exegesis*, p. 881.

Ps. 141. Vox Christi ad Deum.—Thorpe, p. 415.

Prima parte Dominus clamat ad Patrem.—*Exegesis*, p. 1095, B.

It will be remarked that the agreement here is only a general one, in no case extending to verbal expression.

On the other hand, leaving out Ps. 21, where the source of the divergent rubric is obvious, there is irreconcilable disagreement between rubric and *Explanatio* in the five remaining cases which follow.

Ps. 24. Vox David de adventu Christi.—Thorpe, p. 52.

Per totum psalmum deprecatur Ecclesia . . . .—*Exegesis*, p. 604.

Ps. 45. Vox Apostoli in passione Christi.—Thorpe, p. 113.

This Psalm is set down in the *Explanatio* as spoken in the person partly of the "Filii Core, qui fideles debent intelligi Christiani," partly of the "credentium turba, generaliter ad divina miracula contuenda."—*Exegesis*, p. 724.

Ps. 113. Vox apostolica cum Judaeis, increpans idola.—Thorpe, p. 327.

Per totum psalmum propheta loquitur.—*Exegesis*, p. 1041.

Ps. 129. Canticum graduum. Vox Christi.—Thorpe, p. 387.

Clamat propheta ad Dominum.—*Exegesis*, p. 1091.

Ps. 142. Vox Christi ad Deum.—Thorpe, p. 417.

. . . . rogat [Propheta] Dominum Christum.—*Exegesis*, p. 1095.

A comparison with the interpretation laid down in the Commentary proper yields a result coincident with the above, and as I have been unable to identify these rubrics elsewhere, I am inclined to accept them as original with the transcriber himself.

With regard to the origin of the arguments or introductions in question, we have the opinion of Thorpe (Præfatio, vii) that they are "partim ex scriptis Divi Hieronymi desumta, partim, ut videtur, ipsius interpretis ingenio excogitata." Again, in Wichmann's article, we find the following statement on this subject (p. 49):

"Aus den überschriften mehrerer psalmen deren inhalt sich auf bestimmte Davidische verhältnisse nicht beziehen lässt, geht hervor dass der übersetzer dieselben ihrem inhalt gemäss formte, alles jedoch in einer art die eine benutzung irgend eines kommentars vollkommen ausschliesst."

It will be evident, however, from the following that neither of the views expressed above is correct. We have, in fact, already been conducted to the true source of the Anglo-Saxon arguments. Those arguments, as I shall now proceed to set forth, are simply paraphrases of the same *argumenta* of the commentary, *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis*, from which, as we have already seen, the Latin rubrics were borrowed. In the case of the Anglo-Saxon introductions, however, the *Explanationes* of the original are also frequently drawn on and the Vulgate (originally Septuagint) superscriptions which come between[1] *Argumenta* and *Explanationes* in *Exegesis* usually enter into the paraphrase, as well. As the latter—the *Explanationes*—invariably offer allegorical interpretations which, in many cases, recur in other commentaries, it is often difficult to determine when the relation of dependence is direct. Still, the examples to be cited later on show, I think, that these are to be reckoned among the sources.

In order that the comparison may be made as convenient as possible, I will reproduce below the Anglo-Saxon introductions, preceding each by the corresponding argument of

[1] I accept the order of the first edition of *Exegesis* (viz., that in the Basel edition of Bede's works, 1563) as reflecting, no doubt, most accurately the order in the MSS. The same order is retained in all subsequent editions of the commentary till Migne's reprint in which the Vulgate superscriptions are made to come first.

Exegesis, and Vulgate superscription or sentences of the *Explanatio*, where necessary, from which it was drawn. This reproduction, however, should be prefaced by an explanation of the method which the Anglo-Saxon translator has followed in paraphrasing his original. As the method is the same in all cases, the subject can best be illustrated by a specific example and I will select for the purpose Ps. 33, only omitting here the alternative mystical interpretation of the Latin commentary, as that is not used in the case of this psalm.

The Anglo-Saxon translator had before him in his original, first, the *argumentum*, then the Vulgate superscription for the psalm, as follows:

Argumentum.

Ezechias, victo Assyrio, semper Dominum benedicere promittit et angelum adjutorem sibi precatur immitti, moxque ad exemplum sui cunctos in Dei laudem provocat. . . .

Psalmus David cum mutavit vultum suum coram Abimelech et dimisit eum et abiit. *Exegesis*, p. 651.

Compare the corresponding Anglo-Saxon introduction:

Dauid sang þysne þreo and þrittigoðan sealm, gehatende Drihtne þæt he hine symle wolde bletsian, for þæm gifum þe he him geaf; and he wilnode on þæm sealme, þæt him God sende his godcundne engel on his fultum; and he lærde eac, on þæm sealme, ælcne man þe æfter him wære, þæt he þæt ylce dyde; and he witgode eac, on þæm sealme, be Ezechie þam kincge, þæt he sceolde þæt ylce don æfter þam sige, þe he hæfde wiþ Assirium; and þæt ylce he witgode be Criste, þæt he þæt ylce don wolde, and eac oðre læran.

Thorpe, p. 74.

(1) The translator is instructed, then, by the Vulgate superscription that the psalm is a psalm of David's applied to circumstances of his own (David's) life. He finds in the *argumentum*, however, a totally different interpretation of the same psalm, connecting it with circumstances of the reign of King Hezekiah, whose prayer it is represented to be. The translator's reconciliation of these divergent interpretations is accomplished in a very simple and naïve, though somewhat

astonishing fashion. He sets aside the application of the Vulgate superscription and connects with David the circumstances which the argument had connected with Hezekiah. It was impossible to transfer to David's reign the events indicated in the words, *victo Assyrio*, so of this phrase alone no use is made in the interpretation of the psalm which the Anglo-Saxon offers as applying to King David.

(2) The connection of these circumstances with King Hezekiah which was found in the original argument appears, also, in the Anglo-Saxon, but simply in the form of the statement that David prophesied that the things which the translator has just arbitrarily connected with him would, also, be done by King Hezekiah ". . . . and he witgode eac on þæm sealme, be Ezechie þam kincge, þæt he sceolde þæt ylce don æfter þam sige þe he hæfde wiþ Assirium."

(3) This is not all, for we have immediately preceding this application to Hezekiah the statement that David, also, in this psalm instructed every one who should come after him to do the same things just mentioned that he had done—"and he lærde eac, on þæm sealme, ælcne man þe æfter him wære, þæt he þæt ylce dyde."

(4) Finally, he prophesied concerning Christ that he would do these things, also, and instruct others to the same effect,—"and þæt ylce he witgode be Criste, þæt he þæt ylce don wolde, and eac oðre læran."

It will be seen, then, from the above that the Anglo-Saxon interpretation of this psalm is arranged under a fourfold division.

In the case of the psalm just discussed, owing to the conflict of historical interpretations between the argument and the Vulgate superscription, the interpretation of the latter was set aside by the Anglo-Saxon translator. This conflict, fortunately, did not often arise in the first fifty psalms,—four times in all, Ps. 3, 5, 7, 50,—the Vulgate superscription usually appearing simply as "Psalmus David" without further detail which might have been opposed to the interpretation of the

argument. In the case of the first and third of the four psalms just cited, the authority of the Vulgate superscription was accepted in preference to that of the argument, and the historical applications of the latter do not appear in the Anglo-Saxon, while in the case of Ps. 5 and 50 the interpretations of the Vulgate superscriptions and the arguments were both exploited in the Anglo-Saxon introductions, in what manner we shall see.

It is still further to be remarked in connection with Ps. 33 that the second division of this introduction contained in the words, "he lærde eac, on þam sealme, ælcne man þe æfter him wære, þæt he þæt ylce dyde," might appear to have been called forth, in the case of this particular psalm simply by the words of the Latin argument, "moxque ad exemplum sui cunctos in Dei laudem provocat." The impression, however, would be mistaken, for notwithstanding the correspondence pointed out which is, no doubt, genuine in this case, we have the same or similar formulas in all the psalms but Ps. 8, 18, 44, 49, though there is no suggestion of it in the original. Compare, for example, Anglo-Saxon introduction and Latin argument to Ps. 16:

Deprecatur Dominum David ut se devotum cor habentem auditu dignum faciat quem inimici gratis impugnabant. Aliter Christus de Judaeis dicit ad Patrem. *Exegesis*, p. 561.

Dauid sang þysne syxteoþan sealm, and hine geornfullice gebæd on þisum sealme to Drihtne, and hine unscyldigne cyðde wiþ þa his fynd, þe his ehton, butan scylde; and swa doð ealle þa rihtwisan, þe þisne sealm singaþ, ymb þæt ylce hi hine singaþ; and swa dyde Crist be Judeum.

Thorpe, p. 30.

After having had the two examples above placed before us and the relation of the Anglo-Saxon to the original pointed out, we are now in a position to understand what is especially characteristic of the method of the Anglo-Saxon translator as applied to all cases. With the exception of Ps. 8, 18, 20, 44, 49, which will be considered later on, he interprets each of the

psalms under three, or, most frequently, under four different aspects reflected in corresponding divisions of the Anglo-Saxon introductions, the number being determined in each instance by the character of the Latin original. To take the commonest case—that of four divisions—to which the two psalms already cited belong, he interprets the psalm, first, with regard to its import when sung by David himself; second, when sung by any man (often good, righteous or Christian man); third, when sung by some designated sacred or historical personage of Jewish History (i. e., the sacred or historical personage to whose circumstances the psalm is applied in the corresponding argument of *Exegesis*. It is where this person is David himself, that the number of divisions in the Anglo-Saxon introductions sinks to three); fourth, when sung by Christ (omitted only in Ps. 8, 18, 44). The interpretation of the psalm with reference to David is usually simply repeated for the other characters,—as in the last-named examples, for instance,—by the formulas[1] *and swa dyde Ezechias, and swa dyde Crist*, etc. How the interpretation with reference to King David, in the first instance, has been everywhere obtained we have already seen above. It is simply the interpretation with reference to some definite historical personage which appears in the arguments of *Exegesis* transferred to King David, wherever such transference was necessary.

Besides the characters indicated above with regard to whom the psalms are regularly interpreted we have in a few instances the addition or substitution of other characters, viz., the apostles (Ps. 19, 22), Saint Paul (Ps. 50), any people—*ælc folc*—(Ps. 20). These additions or substitutions, occurring only five times in all, will be partly accounted for by the influence of the sections of the corresponding arguments in *Exegesis* devoted to mystical interpretation.

[1] The formula of repetition may appear in the modified form, viz., "and he (i. e., David) prophesied concerning any man (good, righteous or Christian) that he would do the same thing" (Ps. 24, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 37, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 50),—or again, "and he instructed each man to do the same thing" (Ps. 33, 47).

To what, then, did the Anglo-Saxon translator owe the suggestion of his characteristic fourfold division?

First, with regard to the general idea of such a division, it should be remarked that we are not altogether at a loss for indications of something similar in the Latin commentaries themselves. When, with reference to Ps. 3, the author of the *Breviarium in Psalmos* says "Potest hic psalmus et ad David et ad Christum et per eum ad omnes sanctos pertinere" (Migne, XXVI, 827, C), we have precisely the divisions of our introductions in the case of psalms referred to David's reign by the arguments of *Exegesis*,—e. g., Ps. 16. Again in the *Breviarium* it is said of Ps. 4, "totus itaque psalmus ad Christum et per Christum ad justos referendus est" (id., p. 828, B).

But the accordance of the division with the usual ecclesiastical manner of interpreting the psalms will come out even more strongly, if we take up the four divisions separately, treating them for convenience' sake in a slightly transposed order from that which was used above.

(1) It is not surprising that every psalm should be interpreted first with reference to David, as we have seen, since it was the adopted teaching of the medieval church that all psalms were the psalms of David. In those cases where the traditional Septuagint title, passing over into the Vulgate, appeared to require a contrary opinion, the title was easily explained away. Thus, the author of *Exegesis* glosses the Vulgate title to Ps. 49, *Psalmus Asaph*, as follows:—"Nec ideo psalmus iste Asaph inscribitur quod ab ipso sit compositus, quia legitur et verum est David omnes psalmos composuisse, sed ideo sic intitulatur quia nominis hujus mysterium recte ei adaptatur," etc. (p. 740).

(2) But if every psalm, according to medieval doctrine, was a psalm of David, every psalm must, also, be interpreted with reference to Christ. Thus, in the Prologue to the *Breviarium in Psalmos*, the most widely read commentary on the Psalms of the Middle Ages, when it was erroneously accepted as the work of St. Jerome, we find the words: "Quamvis David

omnes psalmos cantasset, tamen omnes psalmi in persona Christi pertinent" (Migne, XXVI, 824).

For our present purpose, it is also worth noting that the psalms, especially the earlier ones, are frequently interpreted mystically as the utterances of Christ in the sections of the arguments of *Exegesis* devoted to that mode of interpretation which lay before the Anglo-Saxon translator. So, Ps. 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 27, 34, 40, 41.

(3) After the illustrations given above it will be needless to state again to what example it was due that the Psalms are likewise interpreted of still other sacred and historical personages. Except in the cases already mentioned of Ps. 3, 7, where the Vulgate titles conflicting with the arguments, preference was given to the former, the suggestion of these is due in every instance to the arguments of *Exegesis*. This will appear plainly, also, in the case of the psalms not yet cited, when the arguments and introductions are set side by side for comparison.

(4) We shall next seek for parallels to the division, observed in all psalms except Ps. 8, 18, 20, 44, 49, which offers a repetition of the interpretation of the psalm with reference to the circumstances of every man (often a good, benevolent, righteous, Christian man) who sings the psalm. This division was pointed out above as the third in the case of Ps. 33.

We have first to consider that in the mystical section of several of our arguments, viz., Ps. 8, 9, 19, 22, 29, 42, 48, psalms are often interpreted as utterances of the church, which is the congregation of all the righteous—"collectio fidelium sanctorum omnium" (Cassiodorus, Migne, LXX, 47, C). The number, however, of such psalms is small and it is unlikely that the translator has taken his suggestion from this quarter.

The example quoted above from the *Breviarium in Psalmos*, 827, C, sufficiently recognizes this line of interpretation, but we have in the Epistle of Athanasius to Marcellinus, quoted with approbation by Cassiodorus, an eloquent passage which seems to express aptly the sentiment in obedience to which the translator created this division of the Introductions.

"Quicunque Psalterii verba recitat, quasi propria verba decantat et tanquam a semetipso conscripta unus psallit, et non tanquam alio dicente, aut de alio significante sumit et legit; sed tanquam ipse de semetipso loquens, sic hujusmodi verba profert; et qualia sunt quæ dicuntur, talia velut ipse agens, ex semetipso loquens, Deo videtur offerre sermones" (Migne, LXX, 22).

Although it is, perhaps, impossible to point out a definite model for the fourth division of the Introductions, I think that the passages just quoted, together with certain others from *Exegesis* which I shall now quote, show that its adoption reflects unmistakably the spirit of ecclesiastical interpretation of the Psalms in the Middle Ages. In the commentary on the titles of the Psalms in this work, we often find a mystical interpretation of the psalm as the utterance of some faithful or perfect soul. The psalm may be conceived as spoken—Ps. 3—in persona scilicet alicujus membri ecclesiæ, id est, alicujus fidelis . . . . (p. 500, C), as Ps. 4,—vox totius ecclesiæ aut . . . . alicujus fidelis animæ (p. 501, A),—or again as spoken—Ps. 6—in voce alicujus fidelis animæ (p. 512, C). Ps. 7, attribuitur David vel cuicunque . . . . perfectæ animæ (p. 516, D).—So for Ps. 12 (p. 551, A), Ps. 22 (p. 599, A), Ps. 25 (p. 609, A), Ps. 48 (p. 733, C).—Ps. 9 is composed by David,—in voce capitis vel etiam alicujus perfecti de priori populo (p. 530, C). Similarly, Ps. 8 (p. 525, A); Ps. 10, Hæc verba sequentia quæ psalmus sunt . . . . attributa vel prophetæ ipsi vel alicui perfectiori (p. 544, B). So Ps. 11 (p. 547, C), Ps. 24 (p. 604, C), Ps. 35 (p. 666, D), Ps. 36 (p. 671, D), Ps. 38 (p. 687, A).—Ps. 42, David in finem, id est, talibus attribuitur iste psalmus qui pertinent ad finem, id est, ad Christum (p. 707, A). Compare with these passages, also, Præfatio Altera, p. 480, C.[1] With the above quotations, the special discussion of the fourth division is closed.

[1] I do not think it can be doubted that the Latin interpretations just cited, and the division of our translator which is under discussion spring from the same tradition of interpretation. That there is any closer connection than this, however, as I was once disposed to believe (*Modern Language*

An atmosphere of such ideas regarding the interpretation of the psalms as is revealed by the passages cited within the last few pages would make it easy for the translator to hit upon his peculiar division of the introductions. It seems most natural to assume, however, that the idea of division was directly suggested by the commentary which he had before him. In this work, as we have seen, the historical interpretation of the argument would come first,—next would come the mystical interpretation in which the notion of the psalm's being the voice of Christ, as has already been pointed out, often recurs, and lastly the Vulgate title ascribing the psalm to David. We have already, then, in the Commentary a threefold division which corresponds to that of the Anglo-Saxon introductions, except in the addition by the latter of still a fourth application of the interpretation noted above. As we have seen, the substance of the original divisions was not followed literally, of course, but modified in the manner and for the reasons already described.

Notes, VIII, 76 f.), I no longer regard as possible for the following reasons: (1) There is no other evidence, as we shall find, that the translator of the Paris Psalter used the commentary proper of *Exegesis*. This being the case, the above interpretations being embedded in that commentary appear too few and scattered to have suggested such a systematic division as that which we find in the Anglo-Saxon introductions. (2) If the division of the introductions under discussion were, indeed, suggested by the passages from *Exegesis* cited above, we should expect the expressions *ælc rihtwis man* (e. g., Ps. 9), *ealle þa rihtwisan* (e. g., Ps. 16), and their equivalents to occur from the beginning under the influence of the corresponding expressions, *alicujus fidelis* (e. g., Ps. 3), *perfecta anima* (e. g., Ps. 7), etc. As a matter of fact the paraphrast seems only to have felt his way to this fuller expression. We find the simple *swa deð ælc þæra* [*manna*] *þe þysne sealm singð* used in the introductions to Ps. 2, 3 (the introduction to Ps. 1 is wanting). In the case of Ps. 4, we have this expanded to *ælc welwillende mann*. There is, then, a recurrence to the simpler phrase until Ps. 9, when we have for the first time *ælc rihtwis mann*, corresponding to the *perfecta anima* above. From Ps. 9 on, this phrase or its equivalents prevail. (3) The above conception which appears with particular frequency in *Exegesis* is by no means absent from the other patristic commentaries, *Breviarium in Psalmos*, p. 849 (Ps. 12), p. 949 (Ps. 41), p. 951 (Ps. 42), p. 1177 (Ps. 114), p. 1207 (Ps. 121), p. 1210 (Ps. 125), p. 1214 (Ps. 129),—compare, also, St. Augustine, p. 98 (Ps. 7), and frequently Haymo.

Although the four (or three, as the case may be) regular divisions of the introductions are maintained throughout (except in the cases already noted of Ps. 8, 18, 44, 49), yet the order in which they occur is not always the same. In the great majority of instances, the interpretation is applied in the following order: (1) to David; (2) to the sacred or historical personage suggested by the corresponding argument of *Exegesis;* (3) to any man; (4) to Christ. As has been remarked, where the historical personage under (2) is David himself, the number of divisions sinks, of course, to three. Keeping this fact in mind, we have only the following variations from the above scheme to note:—Ps. 4, 5, 33, where (2) and (3) appear transposed;—Ps. 6, 9, 12, 13, where (2) is transferred to the end. In the case of Ps. 50 the interpretation with reference to Christ does not occur, and in Ps. 38 there is a recurrence to (1) at the end of the introduction.

The number of variations from the regular order, then, is, after all, insignificant, but the extent to which the divisions are expanded is very different in the case of the different psalms. In some instances, occurring, for the most part, after Ps. 25, the Anglo-Saxon paraphrast owes hardly more than the suggestion of his introduction to his original. The dependence, nevertheless, is everywhere unmistakable.

That the reader may be in a position to verify for himself the fact of this relation, I will now proceed to reproduce the Anglo-Saxon introductions in their due order, placing immediately before in each instance the corresponding argument of *Exegesis* from which it was drawn, and adding those passages of the *Explanationes* which seem, also, probably to have entered into the paraphrase. Similarly, to save space, I do not reproduce the Vulgate titles or the mystical sections of the arguments of *Exegesis*, except where they appear to have been used by the Anglo-Saxon translator or paraphrast. In making the intended comparison, what has been said about the pharaphrast's method of procedure should be borne in mind. In connection with each psalm I shall add the observations

necessary in the particular case for explaining the relation of the Anglo-Saxon and its original which are not embraced in the general discussion just referred to.

Ps. 1.—(Anglo-Saxon introduction is wanting in the MS.)

Ps. 2.—Generalem David querimoniam facit ad Deum quod regno sibi desuper dato, et gentes et populi Israel inviderint, communem ad omnium correctionem dirigens. Aliter Christus de passione et potestate sua dicit. *Exegesis*, p. 489.

Ðæs æfteran sealmes capitul is gecweden Psalmus Dauid, þæt is on Englisc, Dauides sealm; forþam he ys sealm gecweden, forþi he seofode on þæm sealme, and mænde to Drihtne be his feondum, ægðer ge inlendum ge utlendum, and be eallum his earfoðum; and swa deð ælc þæra þe þysne sealm singð, be his sylfes feondum, and swa dyde Crist be Iudeum.

Thorpe, p. 2.

Ps. 3.—Psalmus David cum fugeret a facie Absalom filii sui (Vulgate title). Potest Ezechiæ convenire qui circumdatus Assyrio exercitu Dominum invocaverit. Aliter: vox Christi ad Patrem de Judæis (argument). David Christum accipe, Absalom Judam Iscariotem (explanatio).

Exegesis, p. 494.

Ðysne þriddan sealm Dauid sang þa he fleah Absolon his sunu, and seofode þa yrmðe to Drihtne: swa deþ ælc þæra manna þe þisne sealm singð, his sylfes earfoðu, ægðer ge modes ge lichaman, he seofað to Drihtne; swa dyde Crist þonne he þysne sealm sang, be Iudeum he hine sang, and be Iudan Scarioth, þe hine læwde, he seofode to Drihtne.

Thorpe, p. 4.

The above is one of the two cases (Ps. 3, 7) where the Vulgate title has been preferred by the paraphrast to the argument.

Ps. 4.—In finem David canticum (Vulgate title). Ezechias contra æmulos suos de auxilio Domini gloriatur corripiens eosdem, ne in mendacio confidant: sed desinentes a malis cogitationibus semper Deo serviant. . . . Aliter, Arnobius exponit, quia Deus justitiæ exaudivit in cruce positum filium suum contra quem irascentes Judæi peccant usque hodie (argument) . . . . sed hæc (i. e., Psalmus et canticum) ideo videntur esse

sociata quia et instrumentis musicis et choris psallentium .... consona vociferatione canebantur (explanatio).

Exegesis, p. 501.

Þe feorða sealm ys gecweden Dauides sealm, and Dauides sang; forði ælc þæra sealma þe swa gecweden byð, þæt he sy ægðer ge Dauides sealm ge Dauides sancg, ælcne ðæra he sancg be sone mid weorode: ac ða he þysne sealm sancg, þa gealp he and fægnode Godes fultumes wið his feondum; and swa deð ælc welwillende man, þe þisne sealm singð, and swa dyde Ezechias, þa he wæs ahred æt his feondum, and swa dyde Crist, ða he wæs ahred æt Iudeum. Thorpe, p. 5.

Ps. 5.—In finem pro ea quæ hæreditatem consequitur, Psalmus David (Vulgate title). Ezechias post infirmitatem gratias agit Domino et adorat in templo. Aliter vox Christi ad Patrem. *Exegesis*, p. 506.

Ðe fifta sealm ys gecweden Dauides sealm, ðone he sang be his sylfes frofre, and be herenesse ealra ðæra rihtwisena ðe secað yrfeweardnesse on heofonrice, mid Criste, se ys ende ealra ðinga: and ælc mann þe þisne sealm singð, he hine singð be his sylfes frofre; and swa dyde Ezechias, þa he alysed wæs of his mettrumnesse; and swa dyde Crist, þa he alysed wæs fram Iudeum. Thorpe, p. 7.

It is to be observed that the Anglo-Saxon translator only follows the other patristic commentaries in interpreting *in finem* as referring to Christ (cf. St. Augustine, *Enarratio*, Migne, XXXVI, 83), and *ea* as referring to the Church (cf. *Breviarium in Psalmos*, Migne, XXVI, 829).

Ps. 6.—Ezechias infirmatus invocat Dominum, causans fragilitatem humanæ naturæ. Aliter vox Christi ad Patrem.... Nota ordinem dispositionis mysticæ quia quinto psalmo mane hæreditas danda promittitur, in sexto resurrectio judicii pertimescetur. *Exegesis*, p. 511.

Dauid sang þysne syxtan sealm be his mettrumnesse, and be his earfoðum, and eac be þam ege þæs domes on domes dæge; and swa deð ælc þæra þe hine singð; and swa dyde Crist, þa he on eorðan wæs, he hine sang be his earfoðum; and eac Ezechias be his untrumnesse. Thorpe, p. 9.

We have, of course, no memorable sickness recorded in the life of David as in that of Hezekiah, but the paraphrast carrying out his method in a perfectly mechanical way does not concern himself about the facts of history. In other instances (Ps. 28, 29, 31, 37, 40) when he connects with David psalms interpreted in the arguments of *Exegesis* as being occasioned by the famous sickness with which Hezekiah was visited by God for his pride (2 Chronicles, XXXII, 24–26), he endeavors to generalize the meaning of the Latin terms denoting illness, translating them by *earfoðu, ungelimp*, words which apply to all kinds of troubles, not simply bodily afflictions. Occasionally (Ps. 15, 27) we have the words *ægðer ge modes ge lichaman* added to modify *earfoðu*.

It was easier, as we shall see, to adapt to the circumstances of David those psalms which the arguments interpreted of the captives in Babylon (Ps. 14, 22, 23, 24, 25, 30, 39, 41, 42), for David, not less than the Israelites of the captivity, did suffer exile during the persecution of Saul (1 Samuel, XIX–XXXI). In the case of Ps. 50 the difficulty of adaptation was avoided.

Least difficult of all to adapt to the life of a warrior like David were those which the arguments interpreted of the wars of Hezekiah (Ps. 4, 9, 12, 13, 19, 20, 28, 32, 33), of the two tribes (Ps. 45) and of the Macchabees (Ps. 43, 46).

In the case of Ps. 3, 7, as has been stated, the Vulgate titles and not the arguments were followed.

Ps. 7.—Psalmus David quem cantavit Domino pro verbis Chusi filii Jemini (Vulgate title). Ezechias ab hostibus calumniatus et a suis proditus Domino supplicat, imprecatus ejus judicium in eos qui mendaciter innocentem accusabant (argument). *Exegesis*, p. 515.

Þysne seofoðan sealm Dauid sang, þa he seofode his ungelimp to Drihtne; þæt wæs þa Absolon his sunu hine adrifen hæfde of ðam rice, þa hine teone wyrde Chus Geniminis sunu; þa seofode he þæt to Drihtne, and swa deð ælc mann þe þysne sealm singð, mænð his earfoðu to Drihtne; and swa dyde Crist, þa he on eorðan wæs. Thorpe, p. 10.

This psalm constitutes the only instance besides Ps. 3 where the interpretation of the argument is set aside for that of the Vulgate title. The words: *þa hine teone wyrde Chus Geniminis sunu* seem to show on the part of the paraphrast a confusion between Achithophel, the counsellor of Absalom, who did, indeed, hang himself from vexation when he saw that his counsel was not followed (2 Samuel, XVII, 23) and Hushai, the spy of King David (2 Samuel, XV–XVIII *passim*) at whose treacherous instigation that counsel was rejected.

Ps. 8.—Admiratur Propheta Dei potentiam, per quam gubernat cunctam mundi molem, gratiasque agit quod tantus creator hominis memoriam sit habere dignatus.

Exegesis, p. 524.

Þysne eahteoðan sealm sang Dauid, þa he wundrade Godes wundra, se wylt eallum gesceaftum; and eac he witgode on ðam sealme be þære wulderlican acennednesse Cristes.

Thorpe, p. 13.

The last clause of the Anglo-Saxon introduction just given would seem, at first sight, to have nothing corresponding in the Latin argument. I think, however, that it simply embodies an interpretation of the words, gratiasque quod tantus creator hominis memoriam sit habere dignatus, as referring to the Incarnation of Christ wherein the creator showed himself most mindful of man.

Ps. 9.—Orat Dominum David pro dolosis cogitationibus filii sui gratias agens quod eas non sequeretur effectus. Potest et Ezechiæ congruere gratias agenti post Assyrii exercitus interitum. . . . *Exegesis*, p. 529.

On ðam nigoðan sealme Dauid hine gebæd to Drihtne, and him þancode, þæt his sunu and eac oðre fynd him ne mihton eall þæt yfel don, ðæt hi him geteohod hæfdon; and on þa ylcan gerad, hine singð ælc rihtwis mann be his sylfes feondum; and be þam ylcan, hine sang Crist, þa Iudeas hine woldan don mare yfel ðonne hig mihton; and swa dyde eac Ezechias, ða his fynd hine ne meahton ateon swa hy woldon.

Thorpe, p. 14.

Ps. 10.—Verba David quando Saulem fugiens in desertis est habitare compulsus. Aliter vox Christi est. . . .

Exegesis, p. 544.

Ðysne teoþan sealm Dauid sang, þa he wæs adrifen on þæt westen fram Sawle þam cynge, þa his geferan hine lærdon þæt he hine þær hydde, swa þes spearuwa; and swa ylce þa rihtwisan þe hine singað hi seofiað be heora feondum, ægðer ge gesewenlicum ge ungesewenlicum; and swa dyde Crist be Iudeum, þa he þysne sealm sang. Thorpe, p. 20.

The clause, þa his geferan . . . . swa þes spearuwa, is taken from the first verse of the psalm,—Quomodo dicitis animæ meæ, Transmigra in montem, sicut passer? Compare the Anglo-Saxon translation,—Hwy lære me þæt ic fleo geond muntas and geond westenu, swa spearwa?

Ps. 11.—Ex persona David canitur quod in tempore ejus omnis defecerit sanctus et diminutæ sint veritates a filiis hominum. Aliter, Christus pro passione suorum dicit de Judæis.

Exegesis, p. 547.

Ða Dauid þisne endleftan sealm sang, þa seofode he on þam sealme, þæt on his dagum sceolde rihtwisnes and wisdom beon swa swiðe alegen; and swa deð ælc rihtwis mann, þonne he þysne sealm singð, þonne mænð he to Drihtne þæt unriht þæt on his dagum bið; and swa dyde Crist þa he hine sang, þa mænde he to Drihtne Iudea ungeleaffulnesse.

Thorpe, p. 22.

Ps. 12.—Ezechiæ preces ab Assyriis obsessi. Aliter vox Christi ad Patrem de diabolo dicit in Marco.

Exegesis, p. 550.

Ða Dauid þysne twelftan sealm sang, þa seofode he to Drihtne on þam sealme be his feondum, ægþer ge gastlicum ge lichamlicum; and swa deð ælc þæra þe hine singð; and swa dyde Crist be Iudeum and be deoflum; and swa dyde Ezechias se cyng be Assiriam, þa hi hine ymbseten hæfdon on þære byrig. Thorpe, p. 23.

Ps. 13.—. . . . Hæc Ezechias contra Rapsacen loquitur. Item verba Christi ad divitem se interrogantem in Matthæo et de populo Judaico. *Exegesis*, p. 552.

Đa Dauid þisne þreotteoðan sealm sang, þa seofode he to Drihtne on þam sealme, þæt æfre on his dagum sceolde gewurðan swa lytle treowa, and swa lytel wisdom wære on worulde; and swa deð ælc rihtwis man, þe hine nu singð, he seofað þæt ylce be his tidum; and swa dyde Crist be Iudeum, and Ezechias be Rapsace, Assiria cyninge. Thorpe, p. 24.

In the clause, þæt æfre .... treowa, there is obvious reference to the first verse of the psalm,—Dixit insipiens in corde suo, Non est Deus. Corrupti sunt et abominabiles facti sunt in voluntatibus suis.

The paraphrast is mistaken in calling Rab-shakeh, king of Assyria. He was only one of the king's generals; cf. 2 Kings, XVIII, 17–37.

Ps. 14.—Verba populi in captivitate Babyloniæ optantis reditum ad patriam, enumerantisque quibus meritis quis ad hanc pervenire queat.... *Exegesis*, p. 556.

Dauid sang þysne feowerteoðan sealm, þa he adrifen wæs of his earde, wiscte þæt he moste eft to cuman; and swa dyde Israela folc, þa hie on hæftnyde gelædde wæron, of Hierusalem to Babilonia; and swa deð ælc rihtwis man, þonne he þysne sealm singð, wilnað him sumere rothwile on þissere worulde, and ec reste æfter þisum; and swa dyde Crist, þa he hine sang, seofode his earfoðum to Drihtne. Thorpe, p. 27.

Ps. 15.—Ezechias in ægritudine Dominum deprecatur et in vitæ suæ reparatione gratulatur et quod humanarum rerum non sit egens exponitur. Item vox Christi ad Patrem. *Exegesis*, p. 557.

Þone fifteoðan sealm Dauid sang be his earfoðum, ægðer ge modes ge lichaman; and eft swa ilce Ezechias hine sang be his mettrumnesse, wilnode him to Gode sumre frofre; and swa deð ælc rihtwis mann, þe hine singð, on his earfoðum; and swa dyde Crist, þa he hine sang. Thorpe, p. 28.

The words, wilnode .... frofre, are not so much a paraphrase of "in vitæ suæ reparatione gratulatur" as a continuation of the paraphrase of the preceding clause.

Ps. 16.—(See above.)

Ps. 17.—In finem puero domini David, qui locutus est Domino verba cantici hujus in die qua eripuit eum Dominus de manu omnium inimicorum ejus et de manu Saul et dixit (Vulgate title). Hunc Psalmum David prope ultimum vitæ suæ tempus, ut ipse titulus indicat, pro gratiarum actione cantavit .... (argument). *Exegesis*, p. 566.

Dauid sang þysne seofonteoþan sealm lytle ær his ende, ymb swyðe lang þæs þe hine God alysed hæfde, ægðer ge æt Sawle ge æt eallum his feondum; and swa deð ælc þæra þe hine singð, ðancað Gode his mundbyrde, þonne he hine of hwylcum earfoðum alysed hæfð, oþþe hine oððe þæne þe he hine fore singð, for þæm ylcan hine sang Crist, þonne he alysed wæs fram Iudea ehtnesse. Thorpe, p. 33.

It is curious that the paraphrast should have made use of the phraseology of the Vulgate title and yet have deviated from its interpretation as regards the time when this psalm was composed, preferring to follow the argument.

Ps. 18.—Approbatur in hoc psalmo providentia Dei, qui ex hoc ipso multam hominum curam se habere monstravit, cum ita elementa a se creata componit ut post ipsa possit cognosci. *Exegesis*, p. 579.

Ðysne eahtateoðan sealm Dafid sang, Gode to ðancunga his mislicra and manigfealdra gesceafta ðe he gesceop, mannum to ðeowian; ne forðy þæt þa men sceoldon him ðeowian; be þæm he cwæð. Thorpe, p. 40.

The relation of dependence here is very slight, which is due, no doubt, to the obscurity of the Latin. It appears to mean, "God has shown his concern for men by revealing himself in his works that they might know him."

Ps. 19.—Pro Ezechia rege suo populus pariter ab Assyriis obsessus orat.... Item Christo eunti ad crucem dicit Ecclesia, ut Arnobio placet. *Exegesis*, p. 584.

Dauid sang ðysne nigonteoðan sealm, and sæde on ðæm sealme hu his folc him fore gebæde on his earfoðum; and eac Ezechias folc gebæd for hine, þa he wæs beseten mid his feondum on þære byrig; and swa doð ealle cristene men þe þysne sealm singað, hy hine singað for heora kyningas;

and eac þa apostolas hine sungon be Criste, þa hine man lædde to rode. Thorpe, p. 42.

The paraphrast substitutes *þa apostolas* for *Ecclesia*. The Latin rubric repeats the latter.

Ps. 20.—De Ezechia canitur, cæsis Assyriis, et infirmitate curata. *Exegesis*, p. 587.

Ðysne twentigoðan sealm David sang be him sylfum, and eac witegode be Ezechie ðam kinge; and ælc folc ðe hine singð for heora kyning, and ealra mæst David witegode on ðæm sealme be Criste. Thorpe, p. 43.

The emphasis of the last clause may be explained by a reference to the *Explanatio*. "Hic psalmus Domini Salvatoris primo Incarnationem, et postea deitatis facta decantat, ut patenter agnoscas eumdem tam Virginis matris, quam Dei Patris esse Filium."

Ps. 21.—(Wanting.)

Ps. 22.—Reditum populi de Babylone prædicit, enumerans quantis redeuntes in itinere solatiis usi sunt Dei, quanta post reversionem rerum ubertate donati. Item vox Ecclesiæ post baptismum ad Esther. Aliter quia in vigesimo primo psalmo habuimus tribulationem passionis, in vigesimo secundo lætitiam resurrectionis accepimus (argument). Loquitur per totum psalmum renatus in baptismo Christianus . . . . (explanatio). *Exegesis*, p. 598 f.

Dauid sang þysne twa and twenteogeþan sealm þa he witegode be Israela folces freodome; hu hy sceoldon beon alæd of Babilonia þeowdome, and hu hi sceoldon Gode ðancian þæra ara þe hi be wege hæfdon hamweardes; and eac be his agenre gehwyrftnesse of his wræcsiðe; and ælc þæra ðe hine singð, he ðancað Gode his alysnesse of his earfoðum; and swa dydon þa Apostolas, and eall þæt cristene folc, Cristes æriste; and eac ðanciað cristene men, on þyson sealme, heora alysnesse of heora scyldum æfter fulluhte. Thorpe, p. 49.

Ps. 23.—Psalmus David prima Sabbati (Vulgate title). Prædicitur populo, imo præcipitur quibus vitæ suffragiis valeat de captivitate Babylonica laxari (argument). Prima Sabbati significat diem Dominicam quæ prima est post Sab-

batum, quo die Dominus resurrexit a mortuis . . . . (explanatio). *Exegesis*, p. 600 f.

On þissum þreo and twentigoðan sealme, Dauid witegode and rehte mid hwylcum geearnungum gehwylc man hine mæg alysan of his earfoðum; and eac he witegode be Cristes sigefæstnesse, þa he on heofonas astah, æfter his æriste; and eac he witgode be him sylfum, hu his ealdormenn sceoldon fægnian his cymes of his wræcsiðe. Thorpe, p. 50.

It is singular that the historical interpretation of the argument should here be omitted from the Anglo-Saxon introduction, although the words in which it is laid down are used for another purpose.

Ps. 24.—Ex persona populi in Babylone degentis oratio formatur. *Exegesis*, p. 604.

Dauid sang þysne feower and twentigoðan sealm, and hine þæron gebæd, þa he to þære reste becom, þe he ær wilnode; and eac he witegode on þam sealme be þæs folces gehwyrfnesse of heora hæftnyde, þa hi on Babilonia gehæfte wæron; and swa ylce bi ælcum rihtwisum, þonne he ænige reste hæfð, æfter his earfoðum; and eac be Criste, be his æriste.
Thorpe, p. 52.

The interpretation of this psalm in the Anglo-Saxon with reference to Christ's resurrection is probably repeated from the preceding introduction. It is not found in the Latin argument to Ps. 24.

Ps. 25.—Ex persona captivorum in Babylone verum sanctorum prophetiæ carmen componitur qui pro conscientiæ bono captivitatis resolutionem confidentius postularent. Aliter propheta de se testatur. *Exegesis*, p. 608 f.

Dauid sang þisne fif and twentigoðan sealm be his unscyldignesse wið his sunu, and wið his geþeahteras, þe hine on woh lærdan: and eac he witgode on þam sealme, be þære unscyldignesse Israela folces wið Assirie, þa hi hy læddan on hæftnyd to Babilonia; and eac swa ylce, ælc rihtwis man þe hine singð, he hine singð be him sylfum, and be þam þe hine unscyldigne drecca ð; and swa dyde eac Crist be Iudeum.
Thorpe, p. 55.

The phraseology of the Anglo-Saxon introduction here has been determined in some measure by the words of the first verse of the psalm—Judica me, Domine, quoniam ego in innocentia mea ingressus sum. Cf. the Anglo-Saxon translation: Dem me, Drihten, forþam ic eom unscyldig wiþ þas mine fynd.

Ps. 26.—(Wanting.)

Ps. 27.—Ezechias infirmitatis suæ tempore Dominum rogat .... Christus de Judaeis dicit ad Patrem.

Exegesis, p. 619.

Dauid sang þisne seofon and twentigoþan sealm; on þæm sealme he wæs cleopiende to Drihtne, wilnode þæt he hine arette, and gefriðode wiþ eallum earfoðum, ægðer ge modes ge lichaman; and wiþ ealle his fynd gescylde, ge wiþ gesewene ge wiþ ungesewene: and eac Ezechias, on þam ylcan sealme, hine gebæd, þæt hine God alysde, ægðer ge æt his mettrumnesse ge æt his feondum, swa he þa dyde; and þæs ylcan wilnaþ ælc þe hine singð, oþþe for hine sylfne, oððe for oþerne; and swa ylce dyde Crist, þa þa he þysne sealm sang.

Thorpe, p. 59.

Ps. 28.—Exhortatio Ezechiae, qua ab Assyriis et morte liberatus usurus sit ad Judaeos, ut pro tantis beneficiis Deo gratiarum actio et vota reddantur.... *Exegesis*, p. 622.

Ðysne eahta and twentigoðan sealm Dauid sang, bebeodende þam folce þæt hi gelæston heora gehat, and heora ælmessan sealdon Gode, for swa myclum gifum swa he him geaf; and he witegode eac þæt ylce be Ezechie, þe lange æfter him wæs, þæt he sceolde þæt ylce don, þonne he alysed wære æt Asirium, and eac æt his mettrumnesse; and eac swa ilce he witegode be eallum þam þe æfter him gebrocode wæron, and eft arette, þæt hi eac þæs Gode ðancodon, æfter heora bysne; and eac he witegode be Criste, þæt he sceolde beon alysed æt Iudeum: he cwæð.

Thorpe, p. 61.

Ps. 29.—Psalmus cantici in dedicatione domus David (Vulgate title). Elevatus Ezechias victoriæ tam gloriosæ proventu, ægrotatione correptus est, ut suæ fragilitatis admonitione deponeret arrogantiam: sub ejus proinde persona ab errore correpti, ab infirmitate salvati, et ab hostibus eruti gratiarum

actio prædicatur, et pro conversatione templi, tanquam pro dedicatione decantatur .... (argument).... Domus autem David Dominici corporis in templum, dedicatio vero ejus resurrectionem ejus ostendit, qua in æternam gloriam potestatemque perductum est (explanatio). *Exegesis*, p. 625.

Dauid sang þysne nigan and twentigoþan sealm þam Gode, þe hine alysde æt his feondum, and æt eallum earfoðum; and þæt ylce he witegode be Ezechie, þæt he sceolde þæt ylce don þonne he alysed wære æt Assirium, and æt his mettrumnesse; and þæt ylce he witegode be ælcum rihtwisan men, þe þysne sealm singð, oþþe for hine sylfne, oþþe for oðerne, Gode to ðancunge þære blisse, þe he þonne hæfð; and eac he witegode on þam sealme be Criste, hu he sceolde alysed beon, ægðer ge fram Iudeum ge of ðy deaðe. Thorpe, p. 63.

Ps. 30.—Quibus verbis pro reditu suo plebs in Babylone captiva Deo supplicet, quæve mala pertulerit, et quæ futura sit, Deo concedente, reversio, prædicitur .... (argument).... pertinens ad Dominum Christum, de cujus passione et resurrectione totus est psalmus cantatus (explanatio).
Exegesis, p. 629.

Dauid sang þysne ðrittigoðan sealm, gebiddende to Dribtne for his hamcyme of ðam wræce, and of þam earfoðan, þa he þa on wæs; and eac he witgode be þære wræce, þe æfter him wurðan sceolde þæm folce; þæt wæs þa hi to Babilonia gelædde wæron: he witgode, þæt hi sceoldon gebiddan on þa ylcan wisan þe he dyde, and hyra ungelimp ðær seofian swa he dyde; and eac he witegode be ælcum rihtwisan menn, þe sealmas singð, awþer oþþe for hine sylfne, oððe for oðerne mann, þara þe geswenced byð, awðer oþþe on mode, oþþe on lichaman; and he witegode eac be Criste, þæt he hine sceolde swa gebiddan wið þam earfoðum, þe Iudeas him dydon.
Thorpe, p. 65.

Ps. 31.—Oratio Ezechiae quia in languorem ob superbiam inciderit; convenit et cæteris sanctis simili statu degentibus.
Exegesis, p. 641.

Dauid sang þisne an and ðrittigoðan sealm wundriende þære unasecgendlican gesælignesse þæra manna, þe him God forgifð ealle heora scylda, and him ælc geswinc aferþ, swa swa he him oft dyde; and he witgode eac be Ezechie, hu he sceolde wundrian þære myclan mildheortnesse, þe he him oft

forgeaf, ægðer ge on his hælo ge on his alysnesse æt his feondum; and swa ylce he witgode be ælcum godum men, þe him God swa ymb dyde; and he ætwat eac him sylfum, þæt he ne hreowsode his synna, ær he hæfde witnunga: and he witgode eac be Criste, þæt he swa ylce wolde herian swylce menn.
Thorpe, p. 69.

This is one of the seven penitential psalms, and the Anglo-Saxon introduction expands the interpretation of the arguments to suit that character. The expansion is quite in accord with the interpretation of *Explanatio*, but I can discover no verbal agreement. The first clause of the paraphrase shows evidently the influence of the first verse of the psalm—Beati quorum remissæ sunt iniquitates et quorum tecta sunt peccata.

Ps. 32.—Post victoriam de Assyriis carmen triumphale componitur in quo docetur irritæ spei esse omnia quibus præter Deum mortales exsultant. *Exegesis*, p. 615.

Dauid sang þisne twa and ðrittigoþan sealm, herigende Drihten, and him ðanciende, þæt he hine swa wunderlice of eallum his earfoþum gefriðode, and hine swa weorðlice gesette ofer his rice; and eac he lærde, on þam sealme, ealle menn, þæt hi sceolden Gode ðancian, ealra þæra gooda þe he him dyde; and he witgode eac be Ezechie, þæt he sceolde þæt ylce don, þonne he alysed wære of his earfoðum, and be ælcum þæra þe þysne sealm singð; and eac be Criste he witgode, þæt he sceolde, æfter his æriste, ealle men þæt ylce læran.
Thorpe, p. 71.

Ps. 33.—(See above.)

Ps. 34.—Occasione ærumnarum suarum David hunc psalmum in tempore Jeremiae componit, quæque pertulerit qualiterve oraverit, exponit. Aliter totus psalmus ex persona Christi est et per Christum ad omnes sanctos referri potest.
Exegesis, p. 658.

Dauid sang þysne feower and ðrittigoþan sealm, siofigende to Drihtne his yrmða; tealde his ungelimp, and hu he hine gebæd to Gode, þæt he him gearode; and eac he witegode, on þam ylcan sealme, þæt ylce be ælcum rihtwisan menn, þe þysne sealm sunge, oððe for hine sylfne oþþe for oðerne mann, þæt he sceolde þæs ylcan wilnian; eac he witgode be Criste þæt he

wolde þæt ylce don, þonne he come, ma witgiende, þonne wyrgende oððe wilniende. Thorpe, p. 77.

The words "in tempore Jeremiae" in connection with David probably puzzled the Anglo-Saxon paraphrast, and so were, no doubt, purposely omitted.

The final phrase, "ma witgiende þonne wyrgende oððe wilniende," might seem to have been drawn from the commentary proper of *Exegesis*, with reference to this psalm, p. 659. A: "Loquitur autem hic caput nostrum primum pro se dicens, non malevolentia optandi, sed præscientia prophetandi." This has always been the method, however, by which the Church has explained away the Imprecatory Psalms; cf. *Breviarium in Psalmos* (to Ps. 11, verse 3): Numquid maledicendo dicit? Non: quia non est mos sanctorum maledicere, sed pronuntiando quod futurum est, dixit: non optando, et sed prophetando (Migne, XXVI, 847, C); or Gregory, *Cura Pastoralis* (Migne, LXXVII, 15, B), where the words of the Psalmist in a similar passage are interpreted as spoken, "non optantis animo sed prophetantis ministerio." King Aelfred's translation of the passage runs: "Ne cwæð he ðæt for ðy ðe he ænegum men ðæs wyscte or wilnode, ac he witgode swa swa hit geworðan sceolde" (Sweet's edition, p. 29). The above line of interpretation is not wholly out of favor even at the present day: cf. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (American edition), III, 2626. It may be well to add to the above references a passage in St. Augustine's *Enarrationes* (Migne, XXXVI, 88).

Ps. 35.—Cum Saulis insidiis urgeretur, hunc psalmum cecinit eo præcipue tempore cum eum necare volens, scyphum tantum pro signo fidei, hastamque proripuit.

Exegesis, p. 666.

Dauid sang þysne fif and ðrittigoðan sealm, þa he wæs aflymed fram Sawle, on þa ylcan tiid þe he genam his ceac, and his spere, on his getelde, on niht, to tacne þæt he inne mid him slæpendum wæs; and swa deð ælc þæra þe þysne sealm singð, for his earfoðum; and swa dyde Crist, þa he hine sang, for ðam earfoðum þe Iudeas him dydon.

Thorpe, p. 82.

Ps. 36.—Aedificatur hoc psalmo fides eorum, qui, pravorum temporali felicitate turbati, suas virtutes intermittunt.

Exegesis, p. 671.

Dauid sang þysne syx and ðritigoðan sealm, on þæm he lærde ealle geleaffulle þæt hy ne onhyredon þam yfelwillendum, þeah him þuhte þæt he gesælige and orsorge wæron; forþam hyra orsorgnes swiðe hraðe aspringð; and ælc þæra ðe gyt þysne sealm singð, be þam ylcan he hine singð; and eac Crist þæt ylce lærde and witgode, þonne he ðysne sealm sang. Thorpe, p. 84.

The paraphrast has, also, made use of the first verse of the psalm in framing this introduction; cf. noli æmulari inter malignantes, neque emulatus fueris facientes iniquitatem; and the Anglo-Saxon translation of the same:—Ne wundrie ge þæra yfelwillendra, and þæra orsorgra, ne him na ne onhyriað; ne eow ne ofðince þeah eow ne sy swa swa him, þa þe unriht wyrcað;—*yfelwillende* corresponds more exactly to *malignans* than to *pravus* of the argument. The phraseology, in other respects, is identical.

Ps. 37.—Ezechias ægrotans Domino supplicat. . . .

Exegesis, p. 679.

Dauid sang þysne seofon and ðrittigoðan, andettende Drihtne his scylde, and seofigende his ungelimp, þæt he ær mid his scyldum geearnode; and he eac healsode Drihten, on þæm sealme, þæt he hine on swylcum earfeðum ne lete his lif geendian; and he witegode eac be Ezechie, þam kyncge, þæt he sceolde þæt ylce don, on his earfoðum; and eac be ælcum þæra ðe ðysne sealm sunge, oþþe for hine sylfne, oððe for oðerne man, he witegode þæt he sceolde þæt ilce mænan, and eac þæt ylce gemetan; and eac be Criste he witegode þæt he wolde þæt ylce don. Thorpe, p. 89.

Ps. 38.—Angentibus sub Saule mæroribus, hunc psalmum cecinit, qui plus exhortationis pro audientium profectu quam pro se deprecationis haberet. Aliter propheta increpat eos qui divitias habent et nesciunt cui dimittant eas.

Exegesis, p. 686.

Dauid sang þysne eahta and ðrittigoþan sealm, seofigende to Drihtne, mid hu manegum unrotnessum he wæs ofðrycced

under Sawle. On þæm sealme he lærde and tælde ealle men, þe worulde welan gaderiað mid unrihte, and nytan hwam hi hine læfað; and eac he witgode þæt ælc þæra þæt ylce don sceolde, þe þysne sealm æfter him sunge; and eac he witgode be Criste, þæt he wolde seofian swa ylce his nearonesse, þe he hæfde under Iudeum; and eac on æfterweardum þæm sealme, he wilnode ealra swiðost, þæt him God sealde sume frofre, and sume rothwile on þys andweardum life, ær his ende.

Thorpe, p. 92.

In the last clause of the above Anglo-Saxon paraphrase use is made of the final verse of the psalm, v. 16. Cf. Remitte mihi, ut refrigerer, prius quam eam, et amplius non ero: Forlæt me nu, Drihten, to sumre rothwile on ðisse weorulde, ær ic hire swa ofgewite, þæt ic eft ne sy.

Ps. 39.—Populus de Babylone reversus Domino gratias agit. Aliter qui in trigesimo octavo psalmo dixit: *Quæ est expectatio mea, nonne Deus?* nunc in trigesimo nono dicit: *Expectans expectavi Dominum et respexit me* .... (argument) .... Ob hoc Patris auxilium deprecatur [Christus], ut pericula possit a Judaeis illata devincere, confundi postulans inimicos, et lætari omnes qui sperant in eum (explanatio).

Exegesis, p. 692.

Dauid sang þysne nigan and ðritigoðan sealm, gylpende on þam sealme, þæt he nauht idel nære, þa he anbidode Godes fultumes; forþam he on ðæm ærran sealme ahsode God, Hwæt his anbid wære? oððe hwæs he anbidode? And eac he witgode be þam gehæftan folce on Babylonia, þæt hy sceoldon þone ylcan sealm singan, and þæt ylce seofian, and eft fægnian, þonne hy on genere wæron, and þysne sealm singan, swa he dyde; and swa ylce gebyreð ælcum cristnum men, þas twegen sealmas to singanne; þone ærran on his earfoðum, and þone æftran, syþþan he genered byð; and þæt ylce he witgode be Criste, þæt he wolde, be þam ylcan, þas sealmas singan, ægðer ge be þam earfoðum, ðe hine Iudeas dydon, ge eft be his alysnesse. Thorpe, p. 95.

Ps. 40.—Infirmitas et curatio prædicitur Ezechiae, et quod occasione languoris latentes inimici detecti sunt insultando, quodque ipsa ægrotatio in devotionem ejus profecerit. Item vox Christi de passione sua et de Juda traditore.

Exegesis, p. 698.

Dauid sang þysne feowertigoðan sealm be his earfoðum, and eft be þam fultume þe he hæfde fram Gode; and he sæde eac on þam sealme, hu he hæfde afandod ægðer ge his frynd ge his fynd, on his earfoðum, and on his ungelimpe; and eac he witgode be Ezechie cinge, þe æfter him beon sceolde, þæt him sceolde þæt ylce beon; and eac be ælcum cristnum men he witgode þæt ylce, þara þe ærest on earfoðum byð, and eft on eðnesse; and eac be Criste he witgode, on þæm sealme, and be Iudeum, hu hy hine swencton, and hu hine God eft arette. Thorpe, p. 99.

Ps. 41.—Populus in Babylone captivus patriæ memor orat. Aliter ante baptismum vox Christi ad eos qui fidem sunt consecuturi. . . . *Exegesis*, p. 701.

Dauid sang þysne an and feowertigoþan sealm, þa he wilnode to hys eðle to cumanne, of his wræcsiðe; and þæt ilce he witgode be Israela folce, gehæftum on Babilonia, þæt hy sceoldon þæt ylce don; and eac he witgode be ælcum cristnum men, þara geswenced, oþþe on mode oððe on lichaman, and þonne wilnode ægðer ge þyses lifes frofre ge þæs toweardan; and eac be Criste and be Iudeum he witgode, hu he wilnode þæt he wurde gedæled wið hy and wið heora yfelnesse. Thorpe, p. 101.

Ps. 42.—Populus ut supra (that is, same interpretation as for preceding psalm.—Argument). . . . Psalmus iste cuique fidelium congruit qui in primo capite Dominum deprecatur, ut in adventu novissimi examinis ab infidelium consortio liberetur (explanatio). *Exegesis*, p. 706 f.

Dauid sang þysne tu and feowertigoþan sealm, and healsode God on ðyssum sealme, þæt he demde betwuh him and his feondum, þe nane æ Godes ne heoldon, and he eac witgode be þam gehæftan folce on Babylonia, þæt hy sceoldon þæt ylce don; and be ælcum cristnum menn, þe þysne sealm singð, he witgode, þæt hy hine sceoldon be þam ylcan singan; and eac Crist be Iudeum. Thorpe, p. 104.

The paraphrast uses also the first verse of the psalm—Judica me Deus, et discerne causam meam de gente non sancta; ab homine iniquo et doloso eripe me: Dem me, Dryhten, and do sum toscead betwuh me and unrihtwisum folce, and from facenfullum menn, and unrihtwisum, gefriða me.

Ps. 43.—Machabæorum pressuras propheta supplicationesque commemorat. . . . *Exegesis*, p. 709.

Dauid sang þysne ðreo and feowertigoðan sealm seofigende his earfoþa, and myndgode þæra gyfa, þe he his fædrum and his foregengum sealde, and hiora eaforum gehet; and eac seofode þæt him ðuhte þæt hy God, on ðam tidum, swa hrædlice ne gehyrde, swa he his foregengan dyde; and eac he witgode on þam sealme be Mathathia, and be his sunum, þa we Machabeas hatað, þæt hy sceoldon þæt ylce seofian on hiora earfoðum, under Antiochus, þam kynge; and eac he witgode be ælcum cristnum men, þe to Gode hopað, þæt he sceolde þæt ylce don; and eac be Criste, þæt he wolde þæt ylce don be Iudeum. Thorpe, p. 105.

In the composition of the above introduction independent use has evidently been made of the psalm itself, apart from the interpretation of the arguments. The hints there given are expanded from the first Book of Maccabees. For Mattathias and his sons, cf. 1 Maccabees, II, 27.

Ps. 44.—Propheta de Christo ad ecclesiam dicit . . . . (argument). . . . Cœlestibus epulis propheta saginatus præconia se Dominicæ Incarnationis eructare promittit . . . . (explanatio). *Exegesis*, p. 714.

Dauid witgode on þissum feower and feowertigoþan sealme, þa he wæs oferdrenct mid þy halgan gaste; and on eallum þam sealme he spræc ymb Fæder, and ymb Sunu, and ymb þa halgan gesamnuncga cristenra manna, geond ealle eorðan. Sona on þam forman ferse, se Fæder spræc, ðurh Dauid, be Cristes acennesse (sic), and cwæð. Thorpe, p. 109.

This is one of the messianic psalms according to the universal interpretation of the Middle Ages, with which the argument in *Exegesis* agrees. It was regarded as a sort of nuptial hymn, celebrating the mystic marriage of Christ and Holy Church; cf. St. Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmum* XLIV (Migne, XXXVI, p. 493): "Cantatur enim de sanctis nuptiis, de sponso et sponsa, de rege et plebe, de salvatore et de his qui salvandi sunt," explaining later on (p. 494): "Etenim sponsa Ecclesia est, sponsus Christus." He inter-

prets the first three verses as the words of the Father. The Anglo-Saxon paraphrast, then, receives simply the suggestion of what the interpretation should be from the argument and *Explanatio* of *Exegesis*, expanding according to the general tradition, exemplified by the words of St. Augustine quoted above. The same tradition has suggested the numerous allegorical interpretations with which the translation of the text of the psalm itself has been interpolated.

Ps. 45.—Ex persona canitur duarum tribuum, pro liberatione sua gratias agentium, quando Phaceas filius Romeliæ et Rasin rex Syriæ Achas regem et Jerosolyma volentes expugnare, non valuerunt sed ipsi potius sunt ab Assyriorum rege conquassati. . . . *Exegesis*, p. 724.

Dauid sang þysne fif and feowertigoþan sealm, ðanciende Gode, þæt he hine oft alysde of manegum earfoðum; and eac he witgode þæt þæt ylce sceoldon don þa men, þa þe twa scira (þæt ys Iude and Beniamin), þæt hy sceoldon þam Gode ðancian, þe hy gefriðode fram þære ymbsetennesse, and fram þære herunge þara twega kyningca, Sacces, Rumeles suna, and Rasses, Syria cyncges; næs þæt na gedon for þæs cyningces gecarnuncga Achats, ac for Godes mildheortnesse, and for his yldrena gewyrhtum hit gewearð, þæt þa twegen kyningas wæron adrifene fram Assyria cynge; and eac þæt ylce he witgode be ælcum rihtwisum menn þe ærest geswenced byð, and eft gearod; and eac be Criste, and be Iudeum, he witgode þæt ylce. Thorpe, p. 113.

The paraphrast in the above introduction has expanded his original by using 2 Kings, XVI, 1–9, where the events referred to in the argument are related. In the Anglo-Saxon text the proper names have been corrupted in copying. Following are the corrected forms as they appear in the Vulgate: Sacces (genitive), Rumeles suna = Phacee, filius Romeliæ; Rasses (genitive) = Rasin; Achats = Achaz.

Ps. 46.—Machabæorum personæ carmen hoc quasi triumphale præcinitur, quoniam, victis gentibus vel Judaeis prævaricatoribus, templum est cum sacris ritibus instauratum. . . . *Exegesis*, p. 727.

Dauid sang þysne syx and feowertigoþan sealm, and lærde on þam sealme ealle þeoda, þæt hy heredon þone God mid him, mid ælcum þæra cræftum, þe man God mid herian mihte; þone God þe hine swa arlice gefriðode on eallum his earfoðum, and ealle his fynd gebrytte; and eac he witegode be Machabeum, þæt hy sceoldon þæt ylce don, þa hy alysde wæron æt elðeodegum folcum; and eac he witegode be ælcum ryhtwisum geswenctum, and eft alysdum; and eac be Criste, and be Iudeum. Thorpe, p. 115.

The first clause shows use, also, of the first verse of the psalm—Omnes gentes, plaudite manibus; jubilate Deo in voce exultationis.

Ps. 47.—Aestimatione hominum ignorantium Deum, ex his quæ in civitate operatus est, magnus apparuit. . . .
Exegesis, p. 729.

Dauid sang þysne seofon and feowertigoþan sealm, mycliende þone wunderlican sige Godes, þe he þa and oftor ær dyde; hu hrædlice he oferswiðde swa ofermode kyningas; and eac he lærde ælcne man þe geswære and ofercumen, and eft gefriðod byð, þæt he swa ylce Gode ðancode, and his anweald herede; and þæt ylce he witgode be Criste, þæt he þæt ylce sceolde cweðan to his Fæder, æfter ðære æriste. Thorpe, p. 117.

The Latin argument here is so obscure as to be scarcely intelligible. As a consequence, the introduction can hardly be said to depend on the original and has been composed almost solely with a reference to the psalm itself. The interpretation of the last clause, however, was suggested by the words *secunda Sabbati* in the Vulgate title: Psalmus cantici filiis Core secunda Sabbati. These words are interpreted like the similar *prima Sabbati* in the title to Ps. 23 (q. v.). Cf. *Explanatio* for that psalm.

Ps. 48.—Communis exhortatio ad omnes homines dirigitur, ne sæculi divitias magnipendant, sed pro his potius, si forte affluant, Deo gratias referant, easque pro æterna requie dispensent (argument). In quarta [sectione Psalmi] commonet [Christus] suos, ne timeant divites sæculi, qui omnia bona sua cum luce relinquant (explanatio). *Exegesis*, p. 733.

Dauid sang þysne eahta and feowertigoðan sealm, on þam he lærde ealle menn, ge on his dagum ge æfter his dagum, þæt hy hy upp ne ahofen for heora welum, and þæt hy ongeaton, þæt hi ne mihton þa welan mid him lædan heonon of weorulde; and eac he lærde þæt þa ðearfan hy ne forðohton, ne ne wenden þæt God heora ne rohte; and eac he witgode þæt ealle rihtwise menn sceoldon þæt ylce læran; and eac þæt Crist wolde þæt ylce læran, þonne he come. Thorpe, p. 119.

Ps. 49.—In priore psalmo ad omnes homines sermonem direxit, nunc ad Judæos loquitur, consternare volens et emendare peccantes, qui, virtutum negligentes, solas curarent hostias. Quod totum exsequitur terribiliore suggestu, quasi tribunal judiciale describens, ut sit tota compellatio Dei plena terroris (argument) .... Sciendum plane quod hic psalmus utrumque Domini prophetet adventum .... (explanatio).

Exegesis, p. 739 f.

Dauid sang þysne nigen and feowertigoðan sealm be ægþrum to-cyme Cristes: on þam sealm he cydde hu egeslice Crist ðreatode Iudeas, and ealle heora gelican þe þæt ylce doð þæt hy dydon; forþam hy sealdon ælmessan, and ofredon Gode heora nytenu, næs hy sylfe. Thorpe, p. 123.

Ps. 50.—In finem psalmus David, cum venit ad eum Nathan propheta, quando intravit ad Bersabee (Vulgate title). Sub occasione pœnitentiæ, qualiter populus in Babylone captivus pœnitere debeat ostendit. Item in Actis apostolorum ubi Paulus eligitur et vox Pauli pœnitentis. *Exegesis*, p. 747.

Dauid sang þysne fiftigoðan sealm, hreowsiende for ðam ærendum, ðe Nathan, se witga, him sæde; þæt wæs, þæt he hæfde gesyngod wiþ Ureus, þone Cyðþiscan, þa he hine beswac for his wifes þingum, þære nama wæs Bersabe; and heac he witgode, on þam sealme, be Israela folce; hu hy sceoldon hreowsian hyra hæftnyd on Babilonia, and eac be Sancte Paule þam Apostle, and be ælcum rihtwisum men he witgode; hu hy sceoldon syngian, and eft hreowsian: he cwæð.

Thorpe, p. 126.

Ultimate Source of the Anglo-Saxon Introductions.

Having pointed out and discussed in the preceding section the originals from which the interpretations of the Anglo-Saxon

Introductions to the Psalms in the prose division of the Paris Psalter were immediately drawn, I shall now proceed to trace those interpretations to their ultimate source. As the question will be found to possess an independent interest, apart from its bearing upon the Paris Psalter, I will enter into it more fully than would be required with that object alone in view.

It will, perhaps, be of interest to students of Psalm criticism in general, to learn that with certain definite exceptions, which I shall point out below, the peculiar historical interpretations which, as we have seen, are incorporated in the arguments of *Exegesis* and which distinguish it among all Latin commentaries of the Middle Ages, coincide throughout with those of the Syriac commentary on the Psalms existing in MS., Sachau, No. 215, of the Royal Library at Berlin. As Anglo-Saxon Introductions are preserved for Ps. 1–50 only, we have had no occasion as yet to speak of the arguments in *Exegesis* after Ps. 50. But similar ones exist for the remaining psalms as well, characterized by the same method of interpretation, and the statement just made with reference to the Syriac Commentary applies to the arguments of *Exegesis* throughout the whole Book of Psalms. In an article entitled "Der Psalmencommentar des Theodor von Mopsuestia in syrischer Bearbeitung," *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, V, 53 ff, 1885, Prof. Friedrich Baethgen has proved this Syriac Commentary to represent simply an epitome of the commentary of Theodore (circa 350–428), Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, the contemporary of St. Augustine and St. Jerome, the friend of John Chrysostom and the chief of the Antiochene School of Exegesis, whose work had been hitherto known only in rather scanty fragments of the original Greek (Migne, LXVI, 647–696, Series Græca). Although the work, as a whole, as far as I can learn, still remains in MS., Prof. Baethgen has published in the article cited—the first of a series in the same review relating to Theodore's Commentary—partly in the original, but, for the most part, in translation only, the superscriptions which stand before each psalm in the Syriac MS.,

laying down the special interpretation to be applied to that psalm. By a further comparison of these superscriptions with those contained in the Scholia of Bar-Hebraeus, Prof. Baethgen has been able to prove that the latter represent the same tradition of Theodorean interpretation. In the two works the superscriptions are, in fact, essentially the same. With reference to the date of the Syriac epitome (the Sachau MS. was written as late as 1882. *Z. a. W.*, p. 54), Prof. Baethgen has been unable to trace the tradition it represents beyond the above-mentioned Scholia of the Syriac Commentator, Bar-Hebraeus, whose death occurred in 1286. I would call attention to the fact that the source of Theodorean interpretation which I now indicate in *Exegesis* has, at least, the interest of being some centuries earlier than this, since even the MS. of the Anglo-Saxon Psalter dates from the eleventh century, and the origin of *Exegesis* should, probably, be referred, as we shall see, to a considerably earlier period of the Middle Ages.

Before entering upon an examination in detail of the question concerning the origin of the arguments of *Exegesis*, which has been indicated above, it may be advisable in the interest of those who have had no occasion to occupy themselves with the subject to say a few words with regard to the distinguishing characteristics of Theodore's method of interpretation. Stated briefly, the most marked characteristic, pertaining in a measure to the Antiochene school in general, but in the most eminent degree and in quite a special sense to Theodore, is the principle of interpreting the Psalms according to their literal and historical meaning in contradistinction to the principle of mystical or allegorical interpretation which, originating at an early period with the Jews, and encouraged in the Christian Church especially by the example of Origen, was so universally practiced during the Middle Ages. It is this distinction which ever since the beginnings of modern scientific criticism seems to have given to Theodore's works in this field the first place among the ancient commentaries on the Bible. "Omnes veteres græcæ et latinæ ecclesiæ doctores qui unquam in libros

sacros commentati sunt, longe superasse videtur Theodorus Mopsuestenus" (J. J. Rosenmüller, *Historia Interpretationis Librorum Sacrorum in Ecclesia Christiana*, III, 250. Hildeburgh and Leipsic, 1797–1814). Two of the most eminent of contemporary scholars in Psalm criticism, Prof. T. K. Cheyne of Oxford, and Prof. Baethgen of Greifswald, have not hesitated to ascribe weight to the opinions of Theodore, even in the present state of Psalm criticism. See respectively, *Origin of the Psalter*, pp. 16, 30 *et passim*, London, 1891, and *Z. a. W.*, VI, p. 262. Says the latter in the passage just cited: "Die Art wie er sich über die Überschriften der Psalmen äussert und die von ihm streng durchgeführte historische Deutung, welche an keinem Punkte die Allegorie, die Todfeindin aller gesunden Exegese duldet, lassen ihn in seiner Umgebung als einen Fremdling erscheinen, als Angehörigen einer um viele Jahrhunderte jüngeren Epoche."[1]

It was just this feature, however, of Theodore's system of interpretation, which gives his work enduring value in the opinion of the critics cited, that secured the condemnation of his memory, and, in a large measure, the destruction of his works in the ages immediately succeeding his own. Moreover, the controversies which arose with reference to the doctrines of his pupil, Nestorius, did much to cast a shadow upon the name of the master in the Church, both in the East and in the West, until at length, under the influence of the Emperor

[1] The encomium of M. Rénan in a similar sense with reference to Theodore's critical attitude towards the *Song of Solomon* may also be of interest in this connection. (Theodore anticipated modern criticism by more than a thousand years in rejecting this book from the Bible as a profane work.) "Une seule voix, avant le XVI^e^ siècle, s'éleva pour maintenir les droits de la saine exegése; ce fut celle de Theodore de Mopsueste" (*Le Cantique des Cantiques*, par E. Rénan, Paris, 1860, p. 130).

In marked contrast to the above are the expressions from the Catholic point of view on the same subject by the author of the article on Theodore in Migne's *Dictionaire de Patrologie*, IV, 1521. "Ces fragments (i. e., of Theodore on the *Song of Solomon*) font horreur. Theodore ne voulait pas même que l'on mît ce livre au rang des écritures canoniques ni qu'on y cherchât aucun sens spirituel et prophétique."

Justinian, he was anathematized in his person as well as in his works at the Fifth General Council, held in Constantinople, in the year 553, his commentary on the Psalms, as we shall see, being especially mentioned in the condemnation (H. Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten*, Freiburg, 1880, p. 48). Henceforth Theodore's works disappear from the West,[1] and it was only among the followers of Nestorius in Asia Minor and Persia that his name was still cherished and his commentaries handed down. By the Nestorian sect of the East he is revered to the present day as the commentator κατ' ἐξοχήν. It is to this reverence that we owe the preservation of the Syriac commentary which in epitomized form represents, as has been stated, the ultimate source of the introductions of the Paris Psalter, the MS. of this work—Sachau, No. 215, of the Royal Library at Berlin, mentioned above—having been obtained by Prof. Eduard Sachau from the Nestorian village of Tell Kêf, near Mosul, in the Valley of the Tigris, after his return from his scientific journey in the East (1879–1880), as one of the fruits of that journey.[2]

To return to Theodore's system of historical interpretation, it is characterized by a single limitation which springs from the influences of his age, and which constitutes the only marked weakness, one may say, of his method. Although he was bold enough to stand practically alone in rejecting the authority of the Septuagint superscriptions and struck out independently his own line of interpretation, it seems singular, unless we keep in mind the powerfully restraining influence of his environment, that he should, nevertheless, have accepted the theory of Davidic authorship for the whole Book of Psalms. He conceives the psalms to have been all composed by David, as prophecies

[1] We shall see later on that portions of them circulated there under another name.

[2] See *Kurzes Verzeichniss der Sachauschen Sammlung Syrischer Handschriften*, von E. Sachau, Berlin, 1885, p. 20, together with the same author's *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig, 1883, pp. 359 f.

of future events in the history of the people of Israel. In these prophecies, according to his conception, nearly everything (*τὰ πλεῖστα ἢ τὰ πάντα σχέδον*) that David says is spoken by him as if in the situation of the person or persons concerning whom the prophecy is uttered. That is, King David assumes, in speaking, the character of the person to whom the prophecy refers and utters the language which is suitable to the situation. He identifies himself absolutely with such person or persons, except that he adds warnings, in case they are in happy situations, to thank God in the language he himself uses, or, in case they are in trouble, to confess their sins to God, and pray him for good fortune, likewise in the same language as he himself uses.[1]

The system which has just been described appears at first sight to represent a compromise by which, whilst propitiating the prevalent orthodox interpretation of the psalms, the author secures a liberty of interpretation as unrestricted as any applied by modern criticism. The compromise, however, is, of course, not intentional, being rather a result of the combined conditions of a strong tradition and of subtle metaphysical thought which existed in the Greek Church during the age in which Theodore flourished.

The above is, probably, sufficient to render intelligible what might otherwise appear strange in the form of Theodore's interpretations, and we can now approach the comparison of the arguments of *Exegesis* with their originals, with the discussion of whatever difficulties arise.

Notwithstanding the coincidence which has been observed above between the interpretation of the superscriptions of the Syriac epitome and those of the arguments of *Exegesis* there could hardly be supposed to exist any direct relation between the two. In any event it will be subsequently pointed out that such a relation does not exist. Both were drawn, in the last instance, of course, from the Greek of the original com-

[1] See the argument quoted from Corderius by Baethgen, *Z. a. W.*, VI, 267, Note 2.

mentary. Whether the arguments of *Exegesis* existed first as part of a Latin version of Theodore's commentary, or were translated independently, is a question not yet ripe for consideration. It is sufficient for the present to say that no such version has been preserved, and in order to establish the character of the arguments of *Exegesis*, I shall proceed to compare them directly with the original Greek *ὑποθέσεις* or arguments with which Theodore was in the habit of beginning his commentary of the individual psalms, and from which the *argumenta* of *Exegesis* were evidently drawn,—wherever these have come down to us. I shall afterwards consider the cases in which the authority of the Syriac epitome and of *Exegesis* conflict with regard to the interpretations of Theodore.

All that was known till recently to have been preserved of the original commentary will be found in the volume of Migne mentioned above: *Patrologiæ Cursus completus, Series Græca*, Tom. LXVI, pp. 647–696. Prof. Baethgen, however, in the invaluable articles from which I have already quoted so frequently has brought to light many fragments not recognized before in Corderius' catena of Greek commentaries on the Psalms: *Expositio Patrum Græcorum in Psalmos, a Balthasare Corderio*, Soc. Jesu, etc., 3 vols., Antwerp, 1643–1646. He has done this in an exhaustive manner especially for the Maccabaean Psalms in his two articles entitled: "Siebenzehn makkabäische Psalmen nach Theodor von Mopsuestia." *Z. a. W.*, VI, 261–288; VII, 1–60. In regard to the quotations from the Greek which occur in the following, I have drawn them primarily from Baethgen's articles as embodying the fullest knowledge we possess of the extant *ὑποθέσεις* of Theodore, but I have also had recourse to the originals in Migne and Corderius, and, wherever the above *ὑποθέσεις* are given by Baethgen in a form which seemed too abridged for the purposes of my comparison, I have reproduced them direct from one of these two works, as the case might be. I am, of course, only concerned with the *ὑποθέσεις*

or arguments, since it is these that are the direct originals of the historical sections of the arguments in *Exegesis*. In order to fix the nature of Theodore's interpretations in the case of psalms where such arguments of the original Greek were no longer extant, Prof. Baethgen has often cited fragments of commentary on verses of the psalms where such had been preserved. I shall, of course, have occasion to take these into account later on, but to reproduce them in full, in this place along with the *ὑποθέσεις* would be beside the purpose of my quotations.

Let us take up the Maccabaean Psalms, first of all, as Prof. Baethgen has treated them separately, more abundant fragments relating to these having been recovered than for any other category of Psalms. It is to be remembered that citations are according to the Vulgate numbering.

Ps. 44.—(Greek not preserved.)

Ps. 46.—(Greek not preserved.)

Ps. 54.—Ex persona Oniæ sacerdotis sponte Aegyptum petentis psalmus iste depromitur, quando Jason propinquus ejus, sed honoris et vitæ illius æmulus, ab Antiocho Seleuci filio, pontificatum redemit, ea conditione, ut omnes Judaeos in gentilium scita traduceret. Ipse vero Onias, constructo in Aegypto altari, ritus sacros, quos Jerosolymis Jason profanaverat, cum Judaeis qui invenire [sic] potuerant, antistes devotus instauravit. *Exegesis*, p. 764.

. . . . Ἀλλ' *ἐν τούτοις ὄντος τοῦ Ὀνίου, τελευτᾷ μὲν ὁ Σέλευκος, παραλαμβάνει δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Ἐπιφανὴς Ἀντίοχος, ἐφ' οὗ Ἰάσων τις ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ὀνίου ἔφησε πολλῶν χρημάτων πρόσοδον τῷ βασιλεῖ προσάξαι, εἰ λάβοιτο τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης αὐτὸς· δώσειν δὲ καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα, εἰ καὶ γυμνάσιον κατασκευάσειεν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ τὴν περιτομὴν αὐτῶν λύσειεν, καὶ ὅλως ἐξαλλάξαι τὰ νόμιμα συγχωρηθῇ. Ἐπείσθη τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασι, παραδίδωσί τε αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχήν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὀνίας εὐσεβέστατός τε καὶ δικαιότατος ὢν ἀνὴρ, ἔξω τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης κατέστη· ὁ δὲ Ἰάσων, τῆς τε ἱερωσύνης καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπιλαβόμενος, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ*

τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν χαρακτῆρα μετήγαγεν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους . . . ταῦτα ὁρῶν ὁ μακάριος Ὀνίας ἐπὶ πολὺ γενόμενα, ἠθύμει καὶ ἠγανάκτει καὶ ἐστέναζεν· ὡς δὲ καὶ προβαῖνον ἑώρα τὸ κακὸν, καταλιπὼν ἀνεχώρησεν καὶ εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καλῶν (ita codex), *θυσιαστήριόν τε ἐπήξατο καὶ ναὸν κατεσκεύασεν, καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείας ἐπεμελήσατο, τοῖς ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίοις τὰ δέοντα περὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπείαν ὑποτιθέμενος. ταῦτα ὁ μακάριος προφητεύει Δαβὶδ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ψαλμῷ· καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ὀνίου πρόσωπον ἀναλαβὼν, ταῦτα ἐφθέγγετο ὅσα εικὸς ἦν λέγειν ἐκεῖνον, ἐπιβουλευόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων, ἐκβαλλομενον τῆς ἱερωσύνης ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντιόχου· ὁρῶντα τὴν μοχθηρίαν τῶν τότε τὴν πόλιν οἰκούντων διά τε τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ πλεονεξίας, καὶ τὴν τῶν νομίμων ἐναλλαγὴν, καὶ τὴν ἑκάστοτε γινομένην τῶν κακῶν ἐπίτασιν, ἤδη καὶ περὶ φυγῆς βουλευόμενον.* Migne, *S. G.*, LXVI, p. 676.

As will be seen on a comparison of the above, the argument of *Exegesis* here is simply a brief epitome of the original *ὑπόθεσις* of Theodore. The superscription to this psalm in the Syriac epitome (which, following Baethgen, I shall henceforth designate *N*) appears much briefer though evidently drawn from the same *ὑπόθεσις*. On the other hand, the corresponding superscription in the *Scholia* of Bar-Hebraeus is quite as full as that of *Exegesis*, though different. I subjoin the superscriptions of *N* and Bar-Hebraeus respectively, for this psalm, as I shall for a few others, to show by comparison that the arguments of *Exegesis* represent an epitomization of the original Greek, which is independent of those represented by the two works above named.

"The Word of David in the person of Onias when he came before God concerning the treachery of his kinsmen who were about him; and concerning the evils which were being done among his people on account of their avarice." (*N.*, *Z. a. W.*, V, 88. This translation of the Syriac was furnished me by my colleague, Dr. Barton).

"Aus der Person des Onias, als er sich vor Gott beklagte über die Nachstellungen seiner Verwandten und ihrer Frech-

heit. Nachdem nämlich das Volk aus Babel zurückgekehrt war, war Onias, ein gerechter Mann, Hoher Priester und Leiter. Nun versprach Jason, sein Bruder dem Antiochus viel Geld, erhielt die Hohepriesterwürde, und vertauschte das Leben nach dem Gesetz mit heidnischer Sitte. Onias aber aufgebracht über seinen Bruder und über Simon, einen anderen Mann aus dem Stamme Benjamin, ging nach Aegypten, baute dort einen Tempel und unterwies die dortigen Juden in dem was Noth that (Bar-Hebraeus, *Z. a. W.*, VI, 283. Baethgen's translation).

Ps. 55.—Machabaeorum supplicatio, quando in ultionem regis conjurantes tam prævaricatores cives quam etiam hostes expugnare tentabant. *Exegesis*, p. 774.

Theodore rejects the double Septuagint title and interprets the psalm as referring to the Maccabees (*Z. a. W.*, VII, 2). Prof. Baethgen quotes (*Ib.* 3) a fragment of Theodore's commentary to this psalm from Corderius which contains a brief narrative of the events related 1 Maccabees, I, 12–III, 60. It was this passage that the epitomist of the Latin argument had before him. After describing the death of Mattathias and the succession of Judas Maccabaeus the original proceeds:—

. . . . Ἀναδεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους κινδύνους πολλοὺς καὶ συνεχεῖς πρός τε τοὺς Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοὺς προς τε τοὺς περιοίκους ἔσχον τὰς μάχας, ἐκείνων ἀνελεῖν αὐτοὺς παντὶ τρόπῳ βουλομένων. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πάντων χεῖρον ἡ τῶν οἰκείων προδοσία· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὀλίγοι τινὲς πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἔβλεπον, οἱ καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιοι γεγόνασι. τόνδε τοίνυν ποιεῖται τὸν ψαλμὸν ὁ μακάριος Δαβὶδ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Μακκαβαίων προσώπου, λέγων ὅσα ἐκείνοις εἰπεῖν ἥρμοττεν ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς. (Corderius, II, 88.)

Ps. 56.—Et hic Machabæorum verum incipiente jam victoria lætabunda formatur oratio. *Exegesis*, p. 778.

περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν (i. e., Maccabees) κἀνταῦθά φησιν ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τῷ προτέρῳ (i. e., Ps. 55) ὡς ἐν συμφοραῖς ὄντων καὶ πασχόντων μεγάλα φησὶ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βοήθειαν αἰτοῦντων· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ γεγενημέναις νίκαις

κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐχαριστούντων, εἰ καὶ ὡς ὀλίγου τινὸς ὄντος ἔτι τοῦ περιλιμπανουμένου κακοῦ. Corderius, II, 110, quoted by Baethgen, *Z. a. W.*, VII, 13.

Ps. 57.—Crescente in dies fama, et victoria Machabæorum, quidam se illis inimici fraudulenti admiscebant, a quibus et Jonathas et Simon cum filiis interempti. Hos ergo psalmus iste redarguit. *Exegesis*, p. 782.

πολλῆς καὶ παραδόξου τοῖς Μακκαβαίοις παρασχεθείσης τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας, ἐχώρει μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ὁσημέραι τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς, πολλὴν δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐπίδοσιν ἐλάμβανε τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων. καὶ δὴ τούτων οὕτω γινομένων, πολλοῖς οἱ ἐναντίοι τοῖς δόλοις ἐχρῶντο, ὡς ἂν ἡττώμενοι ταῖς μάχαις πανουργίᾳ καὶ τῇ τῆς φιλίας ὑποκρίσει κατορθῶσαι τὸ σπουδαζόμενον δυνηθῶσι. . . . Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τελευτήσαντος μὲν τοῦ Ἰούδα, Ἰωνάθαν δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν, Τρύφων τις, πολλῇ πανουργίᾳ χρησάμενος, συνέλαβέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ συγκλείσας ἀνεῖλε . . . . ταῦτα δὴ πόῤῥωθεν σημαίνει ὁ μακάριος Δαβὶδ [καὶ] ἐν τῷδε προαγορεύει τῷ ψαλμῷ. Corderius, II, 128 f., quoted by Baethgen, *Z. a. W.*, VII, 18 f.

The words *Simon cum filiis* have no parallel in the Greek and were, doubtless, added without authority by the epitomist of the arguments. They do not seem properly to belong here as the deaths of Jonathan and of Simon and his sons were separated by many years. Compare, respectively, 1 Maccabees, XII, 42; XIII, 23 and XVI, 11–16.

Ps. 58.—Hæc etiam psalmus in persona Machabæorum formatur. *Exegesis*, p. 786.

τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Μακκαβαίους καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ χεῖρας προαγορεύει ψαλμῷ, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἐκείνων προσώπου λέγων ἅπερ εἰπεῖν αὐτοῖς ἥρμοττεν ἐν θλίψεσί τε πολλοῖς ἐξεταζομένοις καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δεομένοις βοηθείας. Corderius, II, 152, quoted by Baethgen, V, 88 f.

Ps. 59.—(Greek not preserved.)

Ps. 61.—Verba Machabæorum, quando ab Antiocho sacrificare et profanari cogebantur. *Exegesis*, p. 842.

The portion of Theodore's *ὑπόθεσις*, referring the psalm to the Maccabæan period is not extant. Of the fragments of commentary, however, which Prof. Baethgen has recovered, that which is explanatory of verse 5, seems to correspond to the argument.

Μονονουχὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ λογικοῦ ἡμᾶς ἀπεστέρησαν (i. e., the generals of Antiochus) *ξύλα καὶ λίθους ἀναγκάζοντες προσκυνεῖν, ὡς καὶ λέγεσθαι περὶ ἡμῶν, ἄνθρωπος ἐν τιμῇ ὢν οὐ συνῆκε.* *Z. a. W.*, VII, 31.

It is curious how nearly the superscription of Bar-Hebraeus corresponds in expression with the Latin. "Aus der Person der Makkabäer, als sie von Antiochus gedrängt wurden, den Götzen zu opfern. *Z. a. W.*, VII, 30.

Ps. 68.—Machabæorum personis causisque conveniens aptatur oratio.

προσαγορεύων τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Μακκαβαίους διηγεῖται τῶν συμφορῶν τὸ μέγεθος λέγων μὲν τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπενεχθέντας αὐτοῖς πολέμους, λέγων δὲ καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιβουλήν, συνήθως μέντοι ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνων ἅπαντα λέγεται τὰ κατ' αὐτούς. *Z. a. W.*, V, 78.

Ps. 73.—Machabæorum et pericula narrantur et preces connectuntur. *Exegesis*, p. 873.

τῶν Μακκαβαίων ἐνταῦθα διηγεῖται τὰς συμφορὰς ὡς ἂν ἐκείνων λεγόντων τό τε μέγεθος τῶν τότε περιεχόντων αὐτοὺς κακῶν καὶ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀξιώντων. *Z. a. W.*, V, 90.

Ps. 78.—In persona Machabæorum canitur, qui sub Antiocho Epiphane patrias leges mœniaque patre Matathia auctore, ultimis coacti malis, defendere aggressi sunt. *Exegesis*, p. 910.

The Greek *ὑπόθεσις* is too long to quote in full. After describing how Antiochus had done violence to the temple and the city of Jerusalem, it continues:

ταῦτα οὖν ὁ μακάριος Δαβὶδ ἐκ προσώπου τῶν Μακκαβαίων φησὶν, οἳ τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντων πόλεμον πρὸς τοὺς Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοὺς ἀνεδέξαντο, Ματταθία μὲν ἀρξαμένου, διαδεξαμένου δὲ παρ' ἐκείνου τὸν πόλεμον τοῦ υἱοῦ. *Z. a. W.*, VII, 49.

Ps. 79.—Et hic Machabæorum preces resonant, ut Dominus consueta beneficia non subtrahat. *Exegesis*, p. 914.

διήγησις εἴτε καὶ προαγόρευσις τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Μακκαβαίους καὶ ὅδε ψαλμὸς ὑπὸ τῶν τότε εἰρημένος παραδεικνύντων μὲν τὰ οἰκεῖα κακὰ, μνημονευόντων δὲ καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίας καί ἀξιούντων ὁμοίως καὶ νῦν τυχεῖν τῆς προνοίας παραπλησίως. *Z. a. W.*, V, 91.

Ps. 82.—(Greek not preserved.)

Ps. 107.—(Greek not preserved.)

Ps. 108.—The original *ὑπόθεσις* not preserved, but, to judge from its close correspondence with *Exegesis*, the words of the anonymous paraphrast stand close to the original.

Sub Machabæorum persona canitur, deplorantium quæ ab exteris et domesticis adversa pertulerunt, postulantiumque ultionem in eos qui Antiochum vel Demetrium reges in eorum odia falsa criminatione succenderant, quique venalem fecerant sacerdotii dignitatem; quod non tantum excluso Onia factum est, sed per omne tempus deinceps quo Judaea Machabæis est præliantibus liberata. *Exegesis*, p. 1029.

Ἐκ προσώπου εἰρῆσθαι τὸν ψαλμόν τινες εἶπον τῶν ἐν τοῖς Μακκαβαίοις φιλαρέτων, φευγόντων καὶ ἐλαυνομένων, οἷον Ὀνίου καὶ τῶν λοίπων, οὓς τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀπήλασαν ἑτέροις ταύτην ἀπεμπολήσαντες. *Z. a. W.*, VII, 57.

Ps. 143.—Different interpretation in *Exegesis* from that in *N* and Bar-Hebraeus to be examined later.

With the above the Psalms are exhausted which Theodore interpreted as Maccabæan.

The comparison with the extant Greek fragments for the remainder of the psalms I will take up in their numerical order.

Ps. 4.—Different interpretation in *Exegesis* to that in *N* and BH, to be examined later.

Ps. 32.—Post victoriam de Assyriis carmen triumphale componitur in quo docetur irritæ spei esse omnia quibus præter Deum mortales exsultant. *Exegesis*, p. 645.

τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἐζεκίου παρεσχεθεῖσαν νίκην τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τῆς παραδόξου τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἀναιρέσεως, προφητεύων ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ψαλμῷ ὁ μακάριος Δαβὶδ ὥσπέρ τινα ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις αὐτὸν ἀνεβόησε, τὸ σύνηθες αὐτῷ. κἀντεῦθεν διαπραττόμενος, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποθέσεως τρεπόμενος μὲν εἰς καθολικὴν ὑμνοδίαν τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ ἐξήγησιν τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γεγονότων· παιδεύων δὲ πάντας μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι μεγάλοις πεποιθέναι, ἀλλὰ πάντων ἡγεῖσθαι δυνατώτεραν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν βοήθειαν. Corderius, I, 574.

Ps. 49.—In priore psalmo ad omnes homines sermonem direxit, nunc ad Judaeos loquitur, consternare volens et emendare peccantes, qui, virtutum negligentes, solas curarent hostias. Quod totum exsequitur terribiliore suggestu, quasi tribunal judiciale describens ut sit tota compellatio Dei plena terroris. *Exegesis*, p. 739.

καὶ οὗτος ἠθικὸς ὁ ψαλμὸς, ἀλλ' οὐκέτι πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, πρὸς Ἰουδαίους δὲ μόνον ὡσανεὶ ἀμελοῦντας μὲν ἀρετῆς, τὸ δὲ πᾶν τιθεμένους ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις τοῦ νόμου, ἕως τοῦ εἰδέναι τὰ ῥήματα μόνον ἐπιμελουμένους οὔκετι δὲ καὶ τὰ προστάγματα φυλάττειν. καὶ φοβερότερον αὐτοῖς κατασκευάζων τὸν λόγον σχηματοποιεῖ κριτὴν δικάζοντα καὶ τοὺς ἐλεγχομένους. Corderius, I, 963.

Ps. 60.—Ex persona populi in Babylone positi et pro sua libertate deprecantis psalmus iste componitur, cui tamen spem nutrierat reversionis in patriam. *Exegesis*, p. 798.

τὰ κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα προαγορεύει νῦν, οὕτω τὸν ψαλμὸν ἐκφωνῶν ὡσανεὶ αἰτούντων ἐκείνων τυχεῖν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας, ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπάνοδον προϋπισχνούμενος.
Corderius, II, 199.

Ps. 64.—Reditum populi de Babylone prædicit, ex persona revertentium loquens. *Exegesis*, p. 814.

τὴν ἐπάνοδον τοῦ λαοῦ προαγορεύων ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψαλμῷ ἐκ τοῦ ἐκείνων προσώπου ταῦτά φησιν ἅπερ εἰπεῖν αὐτοῖς ἤρμοττεν τῆς ἐπανόδου μέλλουσιν ἀπολαύειν κτέ.
Corderius, II, 265.

Ps. 65.—Et hic reditum populi designat verum ex persona illorum loquens, qui inter eos merito celsiores, cum superius carmen totius populi preces et vota contineat.

Exegesis, p. 819.

κἀνταῦθα μὲν προαγορεύει τὴν ἐπάνοδον· οὐκέτι δὲ ὡς ἐκ προσώπου πάντων τὸν ψαλμόν φησιν ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ μόνων τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς θαυμαστῶν τε καὶ ἐναρέτων ἀνδρῶν.

Corderius, II, 287.

Ps. 67.—Cum arcam testamenti post crebras migrationes tandem David ad se grandi exsultationis ambitu transferret, carmen hoc cecinit, memorque itineris illius et transductionis quondam in eremo, quasi ex persona principum illius temporis, psalmum composuit. Ipsum versum in capite ponens, quem et Moyses tunc, quoties in signum profectionis arca movebatur, decantare solebat. *Exegesis*, p. 828.

The *ὑπόθεσις* is altogether too long for quotation. I will only quote those parts that have been especially used. After describing the wanderings of the ark he proceeds:—

. . . . πάλιν ἀπελθὼν μετὰ πάντος τοῦ πλήθους ἐκόμισεν αὐτὴν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, φαιδρὰν τὴν πανήγυριν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνόδῳ τῆς κιβωτοῦ ποιησάμενος· θύματά τε κατασφάξας πολλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμπροσθεν σκιρτῶν καὶ ἀλλόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς εὐφροσύνης . . . . ὅθεν καὶ προοίμιον ποιεῖται τῷ ψαλμῷ τουτῷ ᾧπερ ἐκέχρητο ὁ μακάριος Μωσῆς, κινουμένης τῆς κιβωτοῦ εἰς τὸ μεταστῆναι ἅπαντας . . . . τοῦτο δὴ καὶ ὁ μακάριος Δαβὶδ ὥσπερ κινουμένης τότε τῆς κιβωτοῦ εἰς μετάστασιν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου ὁμοιότητα, ποιεῖται προοίμιον ἀπὸ τῶν Μακαρίου Μωσέως φωνῶν ἀρχόμενος. Corderius, II, 336.

Ps. 70.—Prædicit ea quæ erat populus in Babylone passurus, et hæc ad emendationem ventura, simul etiam reditum promittens. *Exegesis*, p. 854.

τὰ κατὰ τὸν λαὸν προαγορεύει τὸν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ὅσα τε καὶ οἷα πείσονται· λέγων ὅτι εἰς διόρθωσιν αὐτοῖς ἔσται τοῦ βίου τὰ τῶν συμφορῶν· ὑπαινίττεται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπάνοδον κτε. Corderius, II, 438.

Ps. 72.—Qua expostulatione populus in Babylone captivus adversus providentiam usus sit indicatur; et quod pro exploratione virtutis in hac vita plerumque justi cruciantur, nec non inopinatis aliquoties successibus attolluntur.

Exegesis, p. 868.

κἀνταῦθα τοίνυν ἐστὶν ὑπόθεσις αὐτῷ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ ὁ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι λαὸς, ὡς ἐκ προσώπου ἐκείνων λέγοντος οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν ἐν τῷ καίρῳ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν αὐτοὺς λογισαμένους ἀτοπώτατά τε καὶ ἀπρεπῆ περὶ θεοῦ μεταγινώσκειν ἐπὶ τούτοις μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον. Λέγει δὲ καὶ ταῦτα οὐχ ἁπλῶς, ἀλλ' ἐπειδήπερ ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς εἰς λογισμούς τε καταπίπτειν ἀτόπους καὶ ἐννοίας ἀπρεπεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὸν λαὸν παιδεύει πάντας, μὴ τοῦτο ὑπομένειν· διὰ τούτων ὥσπερ πράγματι παιδεύων ἡμᾶς, εἰδέναι ὡς ὁ θεὸς πολλάκις οἰκονομῶν τι, καταλιμπάνει μὲν πρὸς ὀλίγον πάσχειν ὑπὸ ἀσέβων καὶ ἀδίκων ἀνθρώπων· παρέχει δὲ πάντως καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον τὴν ἀπαλλαγήν κτε.

Corderius, II, 497.

Ps. 74.—Post victoriam de Sennacherib, ex totius populi persona redduntur officia votaque gratiarum.

Exegesis, p. 881.

τὴν κατὰ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐζεκίου νίκην γενομένην ἐν τούτῳ προφητεύει τῷ ψαλμῷ, ὡς ἐκ προσώπου κοίνου πάντων τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀναφθεγγόμενος.

Corderius, II, 550.

Ps. 76.—Prædicit ea quæ erat populus in Babylone passurus, et qualiter pro his ipsis libere querimoniam facturus, sicut et in septuagesimo secundo psalmo.

Exegesis, p. 888.

λέγει μὲν κἀνταῦθα τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι λαὸν ἐξηγούμενος. ἔχει δέ τινα ὁμοιότατα ἐν τῷ σχήματι πρὸς τὸν οβ' ψαλμὸν· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖ φησιν ὅσα τε καὶ οἷα ὑπὸ τῶν συμβαινούντων πραγμάτων λογίζεσθαι προήγοντο· οὕτω κἀνταῦθα λέγει ὅσα μὲν ἔπασχον καὶ οἷα· τίνα δὲ καὶ ἐννοιεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἠναγκάζοντο. ταῦτα δὲ λέγει κατὰ τὸ

συνήθες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνων προσώπου ὡσανεὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον λεγόντων τὰ τότε συμβαίνοντα καὶ τίνα ἐλογίσαντο.

Corderius, II, 588 f.

Ps. 77.—Vertutis studia, legisque custodiam propheta populo commendans, hunc psalmum composuit; in quo monet, ut Deum reverenter metuant, quo sanctiones legis suæ beneficiorum largitate prævenerit, ut hi qui jam erant obnoxii, facilius subderentur. Postremo hortatur, ut servent intenta mente concordiam.

Exegesis, p. 893.

Διὸ καὶ ὁ μακάριος Δαβὶδ πάντας Ἰουδαίους προτρέπων ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ σπουδαιοτέρους περὶ τὴν τοῦ νομοῦ φυλακὴν ἐργάσασθαι βουλόμενος, κέχρηται τῷ ψαλμῷ, διηγούμενος τὰ περὶ τὸ γένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονότα, ὅπως ἐξήγαγε τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὅπως διήγαγε τὴν ἔρεμον, ὅπως τε εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν γὴν τῆς ἐπαγγελιάς· διὰ πάντων παιδεύων ἀνάλογον τῇ χάριτι τοῦ εὐεργέτου τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπιδεικνύσθαι προαίρεσιν. τελευταίον μέντοι καὶ περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτῶν ὁμονοίας τε καὶ συμφωνίας τὰ εἰκότα διαλέγει.

Corderius, II, 630 f.

Ps. 80.—Reditum populi de Babylone prædicens, omnes ad gratiarum provocat actionem. *Exegesis*, p. 919.

τὴν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπάνοδον τοῦ λαοῦ προαγορεύων, ἐπὶ εὐχαριστίαν ἅπαντας ὁ μακάριος Δαβὶδ διὰ τοῦδε προτρέπεται τοῦ ψαλμοῦ. Corderius, III, 691.

With the above examples are exhausted the original *ὑποθέσεις* of Theodore which Prof. Baethgen has recovered. It will be seen that in all instances except Ps. 4, 143, there is complete agreement as to the interpretation between the Latin and the Greek. These examples suffice, also, to show the nature of the relation of the Latin arguments to the original Greek. The relation is so obviously one of direct dependence that no further discussion of the point is needed, I think. When the *ὑποθέσεις* were very full, a greater degree of compression was necessary to bring them within the limits which were prescribed by the object of the Latin arguments. This was the case with the majority of examples quoted. On the

other hand where an ὑπόθεσις appears stated in a few words, it is followed quite literally by the Latin. So, Ps. 49, 64, 65, 70, 74, 80.

I have set forth in the above, the manner in which the Latin arguments were drawn from the Greek in the comparatively few cases where this was possible. The object of these pages was to establish the existence and the exact nature of that dependence, and to exhibit incidentally the value of the arguments of *Exegesis* as sources for Theodore's interpretation of the psalms.

It only remains to add that in a few other cases (Ps. 44, 46, 51, 52, 53, 59, 61, 83, 107) we have fragments of the original commentary on the verses of the psalms which fix the nature of that interpretation, although the ὑποθέσεις have not been preserved. In all these cases, the Latin shows the same agreement with the Greek which has already been pointed out by Baethgen for the Syriac. With the cases cited, however, the authority of the original commentary is exhausted. For all other psalms we are thrown back upon other sources of information, the chief of which,—in fact, the only one in all but a few instances,—is the Syriac epitome of which superscriptions have been published in Baethgen's article. As the authority of this epitome is confirmed in every instance by the other sources of information, wherever such exist, it will not be necessary in the following discussion to take into consideration any of such sources except in an incidental manner.

We can now enter upon a comparison between the superscriptions of *N* and the arguments of *Exegesis* throughout their whole extent.

It will be found on comparison that the interpretations of these two authorities differ only in the following cases, namely, Ps. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 37, 47, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 150 (possibly). I do not take Ps. 87 into account, as only the mystical section of the argument for this psalm has been preserved in *Exegesis*.

In all other cases they exhibit coincidence of interpretation.[1] To make this relation manifest to the reader, however, by an exhaustive citation of examples as has been done in the comparison of the arguments with their originals in the Greek would involve too great a consumption of space, inasmuch as the subject lies somewhat apart from the original object of this dissertation and would, beside, simply result in a confirmation of the above statement. I will, consequently, confine myself to what is more profitable—a discussion, namely, of those cases in which the interpretations of the two works differ. I will not reproduce the Latin arguments in full again for the psalms preceding Ps. 50, since that has already been done in connection with the comparison made with the Anglo-Saxon introductions, but will restate them in substance simply. The Syriac superscriptions are given according to Baethgen's translations.

Ps. 2.—"Weissagung auf das was bei dem Leiden unsers Herrn von den Juden verübt wurde: zugleich erinnert aus der Psalm an seine Menschheit." *Z. a. W.*, V, 68.

A general complaint of David to God concerning the hostility of the Gentiles and the people of Israel towards himself. *Exegesis*, p. 489.

[1] In the case of Ps. 85, 107 an alternative interpretation is given besides the one in which *Exegesis* coincides with *N*. In each instance the alternative refers the psalm to circumstances of the life of David himself. If we consult Corderius we find (II, 757) the evidence of *N* as to the interpretation of Ps. 85 confirmed, namely, that it was spoken solely in the person of Hezekiah. The passage is set down in the Catena under the name of Diodorus, but like other passages of the kind in Corderius, is, no doubt, due to Theodore. It is curious that the double interpretation of *Exegesis*,—connecting the psalm with both David and Hezekiah,—should be found in the *Commentarius* [*Theodori*] *Heracleotae* (Corderius, II, 755). There is no means of applying a test similar to the above in the case of Ps. 107.

What has just been remarked with regard to alternative interpretations of Ps. 85, 107 is true also of Ps. 9, 141, 142, 143, but as it will be proved that the arguments in these cases are spurious, there is no use of considering them in detail.

Ps. 3.—"Auf sich selbst dichtete David diesen Psalm in der Zeit, da er von seinem Sohne Absalon verfolgt wurde." *Z. a. W.*, V, 92.

Hezekiah invoking God, when surrounded by the Assyrian host. *Exegesis*, p. 494.

Ps. 4.—"Widerlegt diejenigen welche sagen dass keine Regierung in den Erscheinungen herrscht, sondern dass die Welt in Wirren dahingeht." *Z. a. W.*, V, 84.

Hezekiah glorying over his enemies concerning the help he received from God. *Exegesis*, p. 501.

Ps. 5.—"Weissagung auf das Volk in Babel das Gott um Rückkehr bittet." *Z. a. W.*, V, 94.

Hezekiah returns thanks to God after his sickness. *Exegesis*, p. 506.

Ps. 6.—"Gebet Davids als er in Nöthen war wegen seiner Vergehung gegen Batseba." *Z. a. W.*, V, 61.

Hezekiah's invocation to God, whilst sick. *Exegesis*, p. 511.

Ps. 7.—"Gesprochen von David als er hörte, dass Achitophel sich erhängt hatte." *Z. a. W.*, V, 92.

Hezekiah prays to God, when calumniated by his enemies and betrayed by his own people. *Exegesis*, p. 515.

Ps. 8.—"Weissagt auf unsern Herrn Christus und lehrt uns den Unterschied der Personen." *Z. a. W.*, V, 92.

The prophet expresses admiration of God's power and returns thanks that he has been mindful of man. *Exegesis*, p. 524.

Ps. 11.—Tadel derer, welche hinterlistig gegen ihre Freunde sind." *Z. a. W.*, V, 85.

Lament of David that in his time truth had diminished among men. *Exegesis*, p. 547.

Ps. 12.—"Gebet Davids wegen seiner Sünde gegen Batseba." *Z. a. W.*, V, 92.

Prayer of Hezekiah when besieged by the Assyrians. *Exegesis*, p. 550.

Ps. 14.—"Gesprochen im Namen des Volkes nachdem sie aus den Kriegen mit den Assyrern gerettet waren."
Z. a. W., V, 93.

Words of the captives in Babylon desiring a return to their country. *Exegesis*, p. 556.

Ps. 15.—"Gebet des Volks um Errettung aus den Bedrängnissen, von denen es umgeben war" (*Z. a. W.*, V, 77) relates to David's time (*ib.*, p. 92).

Prayer of Hezekiah in his sickness and rejoicing on his recovery. *Exegesis*, p. 557.

Ps. 37.—"Gesprochen von David auf sich selbst wegen seiner Sünde gegen Batseba als er von Absalom verfolgt wurde und seine Sünde bekannte." *Z. a. W.*, V, 92.

Hezekiah, being sick, prays to God. *Exegesis*, p. 679.

Ps. 47.—"Erzählt von Hiskia, sofern dieser jedermann aufforderte Gott zu danken für den Sieg, der ihm über die Assyrer verliehn war." *Z. a. W.*, V, 94.

Sets forth the greatness of God as shown in his works.
Exegesis, p. 729.

Ps. 139.—"Gebet Davids um Rettung vor Saul und vor den Ohrenbläsern und Hinterlistigen die bei ihm waren."
Z. a. W., V, 93.

Ezechias contra Assyrios orat, ne videlicet exterorum vi vel fraude superetur. *Exegesis*, p. 1094.

Ps. 140.—"Auf das Volk in Babel gesprochen, sofern dasselbe erzählt, dass es in Folge der Verbannung gute und rechte Sittlichkeit gewonnen habe." *Z. a. W.*, V, 98.

Sub persona Ezechiae canitur, pœnitentiam exercentis, ne contra iram Assyriorum raperetur in iram.
Exegesis, p. 1094.

Ps. 141.—"Gebet des Volks in Babel welches Gott um Aufhören seiner Leiden anfleht."

Titulus (i. e., Vulgate) manifestus est de David. Potest et ab Ezechia obsesso accipi. *Exegesis*, p. 1095.

Ps. 142.—"[Auf] das Volk in Babel, welches im Gebet zu Gott fleht." *Z. a. W.*, V, 98.

Titulus (i. e., Vulgate) apertus est a David contra Absalom agi. Potest et ab Ezechia contra Sennacherib dictum intelligi. *Exegesis*, p. 1095.

Ps. 143.—"Dank der Makkabäer für ihren Sieg, den sie über ihre Feinde davongetragen hatten." *Z. a. W.*, V, 99.

Hunc quoque psalmum ipse titulus exponit, nec minus etiam Ezechiae gratiarum actio prætenditur, de obsidione et de infirmitate salvati. *Exegesis*, p. 1095.

Ps. 150.—Vermahnung an das Volk, Gott seinen Schöpfer allezeit zu loben. *Z. a. W.*, V, 98.

Bar-Hebraeus (s. p. 98, note 2) refers to the Babylonian period. Hortatur propheta tam posteros quam præsentes ut psallendi insistant officiis. *Exegesis*, p. 1098.

The reader has now set before him all cases of divergent interpretation. It will be observed, first of all, with reference to the nature of this divergence that even in the cases just cited where the arguments of *Exegesis* show an interpretation differing from that of the Syriac superscriptions, they are still marked by the especial characteristics of Theodorean interpretation, especially its historical spirit. It may be, furthermore, stated that, considering the total number of cases of undoubted divergence—namely, nineteen—we find that in all but five Psalms—2, 8, 11, 14, 47—the peculiarity of *Exegesis* consists in its reference of these Psalms to the reign of King Hezekiah which are not so referred by *N*. Notwithstanding this observance, however, of the spirit of Theodore's interpretation, I think it will be found on an examination of the question, wherever it can be brought to the test, except, perhaps, in the case of Ps. 47, that the Syriac epitome and not *Exegesis* represents correctly the interpretation of the original commentary.

In several cases the fact can be established by comparison with ὑποθέσεις or fragments of the commentary which have been preserved.

Ps. 2.—Baethgen (*Z. a. W.*, V, 67) contents himself with citing the statement of the Nestorian Kosmas Indicopleustes as confirmatory of the evidence of *N*, to the effect that this was one

of the four psalms which Theodore accepted as prophecies concerning Christ. I think the following fragment set down by the side of the marginal *Theodori* in Corderius, I, 32, shows this to be the case from his own words:

To v. 7: "Dominus dixit ad me, Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te," he adds, *πρὸ αἰώνων υἱος σήμερον γεγένηται γεγενόμενος ἄνθρωπος.*

Ps. 3.—Theodore's original *ὑπόθεσις* to this psalm, though not quoted by Baethgen, will be found in full, Corderius, I, 44. The following sentence which I quote demonstrates sufficiently that *N* and not *Exegesis* preserves the original interpretation correctly:

κατ' ἐκείνον τοίνυν τὸν καιρὸν τὸν πατραλοίαν ἀποδιδράσκων υἱον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναδεξαμένους παρατάξιν τοῦτον ἔγραψε τὸν ψαλμὸν κτε.

Ps. 4.—. . . . *διδάσκει τοίνυν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ψαλμῷ τοὺς ἀθεΐαν νοσοῦντας, καὶ προνοιεῖν τὸν θεὸν καὶ κυβερνᾶν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα μὴ νομίζοντας κτε.* Corderius, I, 63, agrees with *N*, not *Exegesis*. The same will be remarked of the quotations for the two following psalms: 8, 15.

Ps. 8.—. . . . *τοῦ μὲν Κυρίου ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν λαμβάνοντος τὰ πρότερα τοῦ ψαλμοῦ, ἐν οἷς ποιητήν τε αὐτὸν εἶναι τῆς κτίσεως . . . . τοῦ δὲ Ἀποστόλου τὰ δεύτερα περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ τῆς τοσαύτης εὐεργεσίας ἀξιωθέντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ λαμβάνοντος κτε.* Migne, Series Græca, LXVI, 1004.

Ps. 15.—*ὁμοιός ἐστι τῷ ἐννάτῳ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. Κἀνταῦθα γὰρ εὐχαρίστει ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν περιοίκων ἀναιρέσεως τιμωρηθέντων ὑπὸ θεοῦ· ὃ δὲ καὶ γέγονεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ. Πολλοὺς γὰρ καὶ μικροῦ πάντας τοὺς περιοίκους ἐτιμωρήσατο διὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίας. Ἅπαντα μέντοι τὰ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ λαοῦ φησιν.* Corderius, I, 272, not quoted by Baethgen.

For the remaining thirteen cases there is no help to be derived from the extant fragments of Theodore. It will be sufficient, however, I think, to point out that in every case, except Ps. 47, 141, the interpretation of *N* as against that of

Exegesis is supported by the arguments of the anonymous Paraphrast in Corderius, who, as Prof. Baethgen (*Z. a. W.*, VI, 273) has remarked, usually represents the interpretations of Theodore. Even in the case of the two exceptions cited, though the Paraphrast differs from *N*, there is no coincidence with *Exegesis*. When we consider, moreover, the fact remarked above that in every case where the words of Theodore are preserved, they agree with the superscriptions of *N*, I think that we may safely accept in these cases the combined authority of the Paraphrast and *N* as decisive.

But if, as, I think, is evident from the above, *Exegesis* does not represent in the nineteen cases cited the genuine tradition of Theodorean interpretation, how are we to explain these departures from the original? It should be remarked at once that the changes are not made on any definite principle.[1] For instance, of the four Psalms—2, 8, 44, 109—which we know Theodore to have interpreted directly as prophecies of Christ, the last two are left in agreement with the original, the first two not. The psalms whose interpretation appears thus changed may belong to any of the categories which Theodore distinguished (*Z. a. W.*, V, 83). Thus Ps. 4 belongs under the category *περὶ προνοίας*, Ps. 12 under that which is entitled *περὶ ἠθῶν διδασκαλικά*, and the rest under the various historical categories.

It might again be possible that the varying interpretations were adopted from some other commentator. This, however, is extremely improbable, as the method of interpretation they exhibit is distinctive of Theodore and of him alone among the ancient commentators. With a view to this possibility I have looked through the works of his contemporaries of the Antio-

[1] It may be worth noting that the three Psalms, 15, 21, 68, Theodore's interpretations of which according to the theory of types which he later developed were anathematized by the Fifth General Council, appear interpreted historically in *Exegesis* just as in *N* (s. Baethgen, *Z. a. W.*, V, 77). We have seen already, however, that the interpretation of Ps. 15 in *Exegesis* is not correct.

chene schools, John Chrysostom and Theodoret, on the Psalms, as most likely to offer something similar, but without success. There is a significant fact, however, which I shall now note concerning the distribution of the psalms characterized by this divergent interpretation in *Exegesis* which seems to me to suggest the most probable explanation of its origin. It will be observed on examination that out of the nineteen psalms in question twelve occur among the first fifteen psalms of the Vulgate version and five towards the end in a group, namely, Ps. 139–143. Two only—Ps. 37 and 47—occur in the middle of the Book of Psalms, and of these two it may be remarked that the nature of Theodore's interpretation of one, at least, Ps. 47, is not altogether settled, inasmuch as the anonymous Paraphrast of Corderius, differing from both *N* and *Exegesis*, refers it to the return of the captives from Babylon (Corderius, II, 898). It may be also remarked with reference to this psalm that the Latin in which the argument is expressed is obscure; the sentence leaves rather the impression of being compressed unskilfully from a larger whole. A consideration of the circumstances I have mentioned suggests very strongly that the compiler of the arguments in *Exegesis* drew the interpretations of Theodore embodied in these pieces from a manuscript which was damaged at the beginning and near the end, and that in an accident of this nature, alone, is to be sought the explanation of the divergent interpretations. Not having before him the originals or representatives of the originals for these psalms, he supplied them out of his own invention after the model of those arguments which had been preserved in his manuscript. I think that the above suggestion will command a strong degree of acceptance, when it is considered, as has been pointed out, that there is no discernible reason for variation in the case of just these nineteen psalms in the nature of the psalms, themselves, and that the rest of the arguments—one hundred and thirty-one in number—reflect faithfully the original interpretations of Theodore. As it is certain that these variations are departures from the

originals, there must have been some point in the course of tradition where the invention of another mind came in, and the facts concerning the distribution of the spurious arguments seem to fix for us that point and the occasion of variation.

Having determined in the above the origin of the non-mystical sections of the arguments in the pseudo-Bede, and having succeeded in separating, as I believe, what is genuine from what is spurious in the same, the question next arises what is the relation of these sections to the commentary in which they occur and how was it that interpretations so suspicious on their face should have gained adoption in the work of a theologian of the Western Church, remarkable for nothing if not for strictness of orthodoxy?

I must at once express my own conviction that the sections referred to were not incorporated in this work by the author of the pseudo-Bede, himself. This conviction is based chiefly upon the observed fact that nowhere is there the slightest trace in the commentary proper of the influence of the interpretations laid down in these sections of the arguments. The work is throughout one of an unvaryingly orthodox character and, like all the medieval commentaries of the Western Church, is largely a compilation from the most authoritative of the earlier patristic writers. It has already been remarked, though with a slight exaggeration, by J. M. Neale (*A Commentary on the Psalms from Primitive and Medieval Writers*, 3d ed., London, 1874, Vol. I, 78), that this commentary "is principally taken from Cassiodorus." St. Augustine and St. Jerome, however, are also frequently used in it, and it would be impossible altogether to find a work marked by a more rigorous adherence to the system of allegorical interpretation as practised by the doctors of the Medieval Church.[1]

[1] It is confirmatory of this view that in the four cases, Ps. 39, 58, 92, 121, where verses of the psalms are quoted in the arguments, the readings of these verses are different in two instances (Ps. 39, 92) from those which appear in the commentary proper. On consulting P. Sabbatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinæ Versiones Antiquæ*, Vol. II, Rheims, 1743, I find that the

In order that I may be able to offer a probable explanation of the process by which the interpretations of this heterodox and anathematized theologian of the remote East became incorporated in a commentary of Western Europe of the character I have described, it will be necessary for me, though in as brief a space as possible, to endeavor to trace more exactly the history of the pseudo-Bede. There will be the less occasion to regret this necessity, inasmuch as the question, as far as I can find after diligent search, has hitherto received no attention whatever, the interest of it, indeed, being for a Protestant,

reading *Eripe me de inimicis meis, Deus meus* (Ps. 58) was common to both Itala and Vulgate. Similarly, the reading *Dominus custodiat introitum tuum et exitum tuum* (quoted Ps. 121) is the same in each, with possible transposition of *Dominus*. On the other hand, the reading of the argument for Ps. 39 coincides with that of the Roman Psalter, *deprecationem meam* for *preces meas*, and the reading of the argument for Ps. 92, *Quoniam inhabitata est terra* (only with *quando* instead of *quoniam*) is common both to the Roman Psalter and the Itala. The commentary proper (like the Vulgate title) has *quando fundata est terra*. It is hardly probable that these differences would have remained unchanged, had the author of the commentary, himself, prefixed the arguments. Furthermore, to be considered is the frequent occurrence in the arguments of directions like *Lege apud Lucam* (Ps. 2), *Legendus ad Esaiam* (Ps. 6) *et passim*, inserted obviously with reference to the liturgical use of the psalm. It is hardly probable that the author of the commentary would have inserted practical directions of this nature—and not with perfect regularity—in the arguments to his work. At least, I can find nothing similar in the other medieval commentaries.

Liturgical scholars will, no doubt, recognize at once the meaning of these directions. The following explanation, however, of Cardinal Tomasi's has been of service to me:—Cæterum cum in his [argumentis Psalmorum] animadverterit lector, Lege ad Evangelium Matthæi, ad Genesim, ad Esaiam, etc., meminerit oportet priscæ consuetudinis, qua inter solemnia post lectiones veteris vel novi Testamenti, ante lectionem vero Evangelii, integer psalmus a toto Ecclesiæ cœtu respondebatur; propterea nuncupatus ab antiquis Psalmus Responsorius. Qui sane mos per totum Occidentem ad VI usque sæculum perduravit; quem et in Romana item Ecclesia fuisse constat ex Serm. I. S. Leonis Papæ. Respondebatur autem Psalmus (ut loquitur S. Ambrosius) hoc ritu. Lector stans in Ambonis gradu, Psalmi titulo præmisso, mox Psalmum ipsum præcinebat quem per singulos quosque versus totus Ecclesiæ cœtus respondebat, hoc est, repetebat, etc., *Thomasii Opera Omnia II, Ad Lectorem, Section XIII, Rome*, 1747–1754.

at least, rather insignificant but for its connection with the question of the origin of the arguments.

The commentary, then, entitled *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis* first[1] made its appearance in print in the Basel edition of Bede's collected works, 1563. It covers pp. 419–1058 of the eighth volume of that edition and is described on its title-page as "recens inventus." The editor of this edition in his *Epistola Nuncupatoria* expatiates upon the dangers and difficulties he overcame in collecting the writings of Bede, but neglects to tell us in any single instance where the MSS. were to be found from which he edits them. I have been unable to discover either by search or inquiry thus far in what library of Europe there may exist a MS. or MSS. of the commentary on the Psalms which this editor, without stating his grounds, incorporates in the works of Bede—along with an immense mass of undoubtedly spurious material, it may be added. The commentary reappears in the Cologne editions of 1612 and 1688, Vol. VIII, pp. 307–896 (division into volumes and pagination being the same in these editions), but the editors are again completely silent as to the source of their manuscripts. Except in the places just named, our commentary is to be found only in Migne's *Patrologiæ Cursus completus*, XCIII, 478–1098, being reprinted there from the Cologne edition as among the *Dubia et Spuria* ascribed to Bede. In the edition of Bede's works, more critical than its predecessors, put forth by J. A. Giles, 12 vols., London, 1843–44, the *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis* does not appear.

If we come to examine the grounds on which the early editors of Bede included the commentary among his writings, we shall soon come to the conclusion expressed by Oudin,

[1] I have not seen the first collective edition of Bede's works in 8 vols. issued by Franciscus Jameticus, Paris, 1554, but I believe I may rely upon the silence of those who have seen it and on the expression of the title-page to Vol. VIII of the Basel edition to make this statement. The Paris edition of 1554, of which the British Museum possesses no copy, is the only edition of any part of Bede's theological writings which I have not consulted.

Commentarius, I, 1706, "Nihil habet quo Bedae affirmetur, unde spurius censeri debet." These editors have not taken pains to state whether the MS. from which they drew the commentary was their authority for ascribing it to Bede but it is hardly probable that such was the case, seeing that they have thought it worth their while to justify this ascription by the following fabrication introduced immediately after the uncompleted commentary on Ps. 121 (Migne, XCIII, 1089). It should be remembered that from this point on the commentary proper ceases and we have only *Argumenta* and *Explanationes* left.

Ad Lectorem.

Beda cum historiam, quam ecclesiasticam vocat, scripserat, jam tum annum agebat 60, a discipulis deinde, licet sæpius rogatus, mysteriorum sacrarumque in Psalmis divinationum recessus cogitans, explicationem illius libri aggredi nolebat, tamen ut quoquo modo suis satisfaceret, argumenta in singulos psalmos brevi confecit. Auditores vero ipsius, cum importuni iterum instarent, tandem eis titulos psalmorum brevissimis explicationibus illustravit; quibus absolutis, desideriis propriis plus indulgentes quam præceptoris senium reverentes, eo Venerabilem virum adegerunt, ut etiam integros commentarios in psalmos scriberet. Quos quidem omnes morte præventus, cum jam CXX explicasset, absolvere non potuit, opus tamen inimitabile hoc relinquens. Desiderantur præterea hinc inde quædam in hoc nostro Exemplari, ubi puncta posita sunt, ea an senis scriptoris intermissione, aut discipulorum collectione neglecta, aut amanuensium incuria deperierint, incertum nobis est.

In the above address to the reader, the editor is careful to date the composition of the commentary after the completion of the Ecclesiastical History (A. D. 731), inasmuch as, at the close of this work, Bede himself, added a full list of his writings up to that date (Giles' edition, III, 312–316), among which no commentary on the Psalms is mentioned. Apart

from the consideration that there is no record elsewhere of the events related in it, the following facts prove that the above address is exclusively the product of the editor's imagination.

1. I have shown already that the non-mystical sections of the arguments ascribed by the editor to Bede are really the ὑποθέσεις of Theodore of Mopsuestia in epitomized form.

2. I have not traced to their sources the mystical sections of the same arguments, which would be a task both tedious and unprofitable in the extreme, but they are evidently borrowed.[1] It is sufficient to point out that a few of them (e. g., Ps. 1, 21) are drawn verbatim from so common a work as the pseudo-Jerome's *Breviarium in Psalmos*.

3. The *Explanationes* are made up in each case simply of excerpts taken word for word from the commentary on the corresponding psalm in the *Expositio in Psalterium* of Cassiodorus (Migne, LXX, 9–1056). This was kindly pointed out to me by the Abbé Morin, of Maredsous, Belgium.

After disposing of the above fabrication, the outlines of which, for the rest, were evidently furnished by the well-known story of Bede's translation of St. John's Gospel, *Cuthberti Epistola de obitu Venerabilis Bedæ* (Giles' edition, I, CLXIII–CLXVI), we may safely say in the absence of testimony from any other source and in consideration of its diffuse style, very different from that of the genuine works, that the editor of the Basel edition had no reason for incorporating the *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis* among the writings of Bede. Its rejection on the ground that no evidence whatever had been produced for ascribing it to Bede seems first to have

[1] All these mystical rubrics will be found in the *Collectio argumentorum in Psalmos* of the eminent liturgist of the last century, Cardinal Tomasi: s. *Thomasii Opera Omnia*, II, p. XLVI, Rome, 1747. This collection is headed *Ex dictis Origenis*, which would lead one to suppose that they were due to Origen. The examples cited, however, show that this is not the case. Tomasi means, no doubt, "in accordance with Origen's allegorical principles of interpretation," and this would be correct. He obtained them, no doubt, direct from the pseudo-Bede.

been proposed by Mabillon (*Acta Sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti, Saec. III, Pars Prima*, p. 556, Paris, 1672), and subsequent writers on the subject like Oudin, Gehle and Werner[1] have one after the other tacitly or explicitly accepted it as spurious. Compare, for instance, Gehle's *Disputatio Historico-Theologica* (pp. 100 f.), which is the chief source of present information concerning the authenticity and chronology of Bede's writings.

Since it is sufficiently evident from the above that Bede was not the author of the commentary which has been thus printed among his works, to whom, then, should it be correctly ascribed?[2] Through the courtesy and erudition of the learned Catholic theologian to whom I have already referred, I believe that I am in a position to return a satisfactory answer to the above question. In addition to the point of information mentioned above, I am also indebted to the Abbé Morin for an identification of the author of the pseudo-Bede with the Benedictine commentator of the eighth century, Ambrose Autpert, concerning whom I copy the following notice from the *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum et Antiquorum Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum primo quidem a M. de la Bigne in lucem edita*, Lugduni, 1677, Vol. XIII, *Series authorum et opusculorum*, p. 2:—

"Ambrosius Autpertus sive Ansbertus monachus ordinis S. Benedicti ac deinde Abbas Monasterii S. Vincentii ad Fontes

[1] C. Oudin (already quoted) *Commentarius de Scriptoribus Ecclesiæ antiquis*, I, 1706, Leipsic, 1722.—H. Gehle, *Disputatio Historico-Theologica de Bedæ Venerabilis Presbyteri Anglo-Saxonis vita et scriptis*, Preface II, and pp. 100 f., Lugduni-Batavorum, 1838.—K. Werner, *Beda der Ehrwürdige und seine Zeit.*, pp. 228 ff., Vienna, 1875.

[2] The suggestion of Nicholas Rigault, one of the seventeenth century editors of Tertullian (quoted Migne, I, 634, note *c.*), that it was a work of St. Jerome may be at once dismissed, since not only are the works of this Father frequently quoted in the commentary (e. g., 517, A, 759, D, *et passim*), as has been already pointed out, but the commentary itself is largely drawn from the *Expositio* of Cassiodorus whose birth occurred nearly half a century after the death of Jerome.

Vulturni in Samnio siti qui floruit tempore Desiderii Longobardorum regis (id est, anno circiter 770) ut ipsemet loquitur ad calcem sui operis et ut ex Paulo Diacono libro sexto de gestis Longobardorum, Cap. 40, discimus, necnon et chronicis S. Vincentii de Vulturno cujus excerpta publicavit Duchesnius tom 3, in quibus dicitur obiisse Autpertus anno Christi 778. Indictione 2 et in Beati Petri Ecclesia digno sepulchro locatus, cum Abbatiam illam rexisset anno uno, mensibus duobus, et diebus 25, scripsit diversa opuscula, ut author est Trithemius et Sigebertus, ex quibus extant commentaria in Apocalypsim distincta in libros decem fol. 403, quod opus propter facilitatem ipsum intelligendi speculum parvulorum vocavit."

That this abbot was the author of a commentary on the Psalms is known to us from the following passage in the Chronicle of the Monastery of St. Vincent. I quote from Migne's reprint, LXXXIX, 1272 :—

"Nam Leviticum Moysi, Cantica Salamonis, Psalterii flores melliflua suavitate, quæ in his divina maneant arcana sacramentorum, quæve uniuscujusque fidelis disciplina morum, sive Christi observatio mandatorum, suorum edisserens patefecit documento verborum."

There has been no proof of its preservation produced in modern times (cf. Fabricius, Migne, LXXXIX, 1265, B). The following reasons, however, for believing that it is identical with the pseudo-Bede have been privately communicated to me by the Abbé Morin.

1. The striking similarity of style which exists between the pseudo-Bede and the known works of Ambrose Autpert. There is the same striving in the former as in the latter to develop the allegorical meaning of his text so plainly that the commentary may constitute a *speculum parvulorum*, to use the phrase of Autpert, himself. The result is what I may describe as an unexampled prolixity. Especially peculiar to Autpert's commentary on the Apocalypse as to the pseudo-Bede is the perpetual recurrence of such phrases as *quasi dicat, ac si dicat,*

ac si diceret, etc., employed in leading the reader to a new point of view in the interpretation.

2. The use which is made of the pseudo-Bede by Haymo of Halberstadt in his *Explanatio in Psalmos*, Migne, CXVI, 193–696. It has long been known that this writer's work on the Apocalypse is hardly more than an abridgement of the commentary on the same text by Ambrose Autpert (s. *Histoire littéraire de la France*, IV, 147). I have, myself, tested the beginning of Haymo's *Explanatio* (pp. 195 f.) and find it to be drawn here and there verbatim from the pseudo-Bede.

3. Among a number of *Quæstiones* on the earlier books of the Old Testament derived by the editor of Bede from the same source, apparently, as *Exegesis*, there is one entitled *Recapitulatio de paradiso* (*leg. paradisi*) *fonte ac fluminibus et ligno vitae*. A little work bearing this title along with the name *Ambrosii*, apparently the same as that printed in Bede's works, was observed by the authors of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, IV, 159–160, in the library at Fleuri-sur-Loire. These authors already identified the Ambrosius in question with Ambrose Autpert.[1]

I am constrained by the original object of this dissertation to reserve for another place an elaboration of the weighty proofs which I have just cited. To become aware of the full force of the first, however, it is only necessary to compare the pseudo-Bede with the single analogous work of Autpert extant, the *In Apocalypsim Expositio* (*Maxima Bibliotheca*, XIII, 403–639). I do not think the marked similarity of treatment can escape anyone who has the patience to undertake that comparison. We have in this essential point a manifest bond of connection between the two works but the other indications

[1] May not the peculiarly close connection of the pseudo-Bede with the *Expositio* of Cassiodore, which has already been remarked on more than once, be due to the proximity of the respective monasteries in which the works were composed? Cassiodore's monastery of Viviers was situated in the ancient province of Southern Italy, known as Bruttium, and his influence may be reasonably supposed to have been especially strong in his native land.

which have been cited lend a strong confirmation, I think, also, to the identification proposed by the Abbé Morin.

Accepting, then, the authorship of Ambrose Autpert for the pseudo-Bede, as will be done, I believe, with increasing readiness when the evidence stated briefly above has been presented with due elaboration, it still remains to attempt some historical explanation of the process by which the interpretations of Theodore of Mopsuestia found their way into a commentary of the Western Church.

At this point of the investigation we are left, indeed, in a large measure to conjecture, but I do not believe that a strong probability will be denied to the theory of this process which I shall now present whilst adducing at each step the evidence on which it rests.

If we except catenae on the Psalms such as the Coislin MS. 204 (Paris), the only medium by which the works of Theodore are known to have penetrated into Western Europe during the Middle Ages was that of Latin translations. It was in this form that according to the investigations of Prof. Swete and others in recent times (*Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epistolas B. Pauli Commentarii*, etc., 2 vols., edited by H. B. Swete, Cambridge, 1880–82, I, pp. XIV–XVI) his exposition of the Pauline Epistles was discovered to have been used, though under an erroneous name, so early as the ninth century by the Irish scholar, known as Sedulius Scotus Junior (beginning of the ninth century), and by Rabanus Maurus (A. D. 788–850)—not to speak of other writers of somewhat later date. This Latin version of Theodore's Commentaries on the Epistles has been edited by Prof. H. B. Swete in the form of the publication whose title I have just cited. In this work (I, pp. LVII ff.) Prof. Swete has endeavored to account for the circulation of these commentaries in the West on the theory that the translation was executed in North Africa in the second half of the sixth century and thence passed through Spain, on the one hand, and Italy on the other, into Northern Europe. It should be said in explanation of Prof. Swete's hypothesis

that the Latin translation of Theodore's Exposition of St. Paul abounds in forms and constructions of North African origin, and that we know that the African Church about the period named, notwithstanding the condemnation of Theodore in the year 553 by the Fifth General Council, or rather, in a measure, in consequence of that condemnation, was still strongly favorable to his theology, even to the point of resisting the edicts of Justinian (p. LIV). I think that the above identification of a commentary in which other portions of Theodore's writings are preserved as the work of an ecclesiastic of Southern Italy—which was made quite independently of the theory of Prof. Swete—gives a decided increase of probability to that theory, whilst an analogous history for these writings at an earlier period is suggested in return. Bearing in mind, then, the analogy of the Exposition of the Pauline Epistles, I think it is only natural to account for the existence of our arguments in Latin dress, preserved in a work of the same part of Europe, by assuming that there likewise existed about the same period a translation of the Exposition of the Psalms, derived from the same quarter. Although the bulk of the Latin arguments in the pseudo-Bede is not very great, I would still suggest that they might possibly reveal North African forms and constructions under the examination of a competent Latinist. Is it not possible that the introduction of this commentary into Italy was due to the diligence of Cassiodore, who, as we know (p. XIV), made efforts, at least, to acquire an Exposition of the Pauline Epistles which were at that time ascribed to a more orthodox theologian, but which Prof. Swete, with great probability in his favor, is inclined to identify as the work of Theodore? The Latin translation which we have supposed of the commentary on the Psalms must have perished owing to the clearly heretical tendencies by which its mode of exposition was characterized, but the arguments adopted from the *ὑποθέσεις* of the original,—very early, as the existence of similar arguments in the Syriac epitome would seem to show—con-

tinued to be preserved by means of the commentary of Ambrose Autpert to which they had become attached. We have seen already that there are difficulties in the way of supposing that the incorporation of these arguments with the *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis* was due to the author of the commentary, himself. The difficulty is, if anything, increased by the identification of this author with Ambrose Autpert—a theologian so sensitive on the score of orthodoxy that he was the first to seek from the Roman pontiff an express decree in approval of his works. See his Epistle to Pope Stephen (La Bigne's *Maxima Bibliotheca*, XIII, 403 f.):

"Nuper in Apocalypsim Joannis decem edidi libros, et quamquam sufficeret mihi quia sanctarum Scripturarum testimoniis verae fidei congruentibus roborati erant, quia præcedentium tractatorum sensu vigebant; humilitati tamen meæ prospiciens, peto ut vestro etiam decreto profuturi firmi maneant, quod videlicet nullum præter me alium tractatorem fecisse reperio."

I believe, however, that it is possible to offer an acceptable explanation of the causes which led to the connection of the arguments with just this commentary on the Psalms. It is a very striking circumstance that the only portions of the works of Theodore which have hitherto been known to have obtained circulation in Latin form in the West—the Exposition of St. Paul's Epistles—passed invariably under the name of Ambrose of Milan. Of the six writers anterior to the thirteenth century who show an acquaintance with this work, there is not one who has not cited it under the name of Ambrose (Swete, I, LI, and II, 346) and the same name is attached to all the MSS. of that Commentary which have survived to the present day. It was adopted, no doubt, instead of the name of the genuine author for the purpose of protecting the MSS. from destruction. If there existed, also, as we have good reason to believe, a Latin translation of Theodore's Exposition of the Psalms, it can hardly be doubted that for it, likewise, the protection of the name of the same pillar of the orthodox Catholic faith would have been sought. It would happen, then, through

the confusion easily resulting from an identity of name, that the heterodox arguments, which, if our supposition is correct, gained circulation as parts of a work professedly due to the elder Ambrose, were interpolated in the commentary of his namesake of inferior note. Certain it is that by just this mode of confusion between the names of the two churchmen in question the *In Apocalypsim Expositio* of Ambrose Autpert long passed as a work of Ambrose of Milan, and is, indeed, reprinted as such by Migne, XVII, 843–1058, though with a subsequent warning as to its real authorship, LXXXIX, 1267, 1278.

It must be confessed that in the absence of established data certain links in the chain of the theory which has just been presented have only the strength of conjecture, but I think it will be admitted that, wherever we have been left to this resource, the conjectures, at least, can lay claim to a high degree of probability in the nature of the circumstances involved and that the analogy in particular between the history of the Latin version of Theodore on the Psalms which I have just developed, in substantial points, on the basis of conclusions independently arrived at and the history of the Pauline Commentaries as outlined by Prof. Swete is not altogether accidental in character.[1]

[1] It is undesirable to burden the discussion more than is necessary with matter which must be more or less conjectural in its nature. I should like, however, to call attention to an obscure hint, occurring in the argument to Ps. 95 (Migne, XCIII, 990), which might assist us in fixing the date at which the arguments of Theodore became attached to the pseudo-Bede. This argument appears in full, as follows:

"Ob reditum de Babylone gratiarum actio celebratur. Aliter vox Ecclesiae vocantis. Item quae in praecedente psalmo destructam domum nostram flevimus, id est, regulam disciplinae, hic de reparata gratulemur."

The first sentence embodies the usual Theodorean interpretation of the psalm, but it is the last to which I would especially call attention. The words contain an application of the psalm by the scribe to some recent restoration of discipline, whether in a particular monastery or general order, it is perhaps impossible to say. The term, *regula disciplinae*, however, would seem to apply better to the rule of an order and is used regularly in that sense. On consulting the *Excerpta Chronici S. Vincentii de Vulturno* (André

The only certain data in the history of the pseudo-Bede in the centuries immediately succeeding that of its probable composition are its use by the commentator, Haymo of Halberstadt (*obiit* 853), as has been already pointed out, and by Bishop Bruno of Würzburg (*obiit* 1045), in his Catena on the Psalms (See Franz Delitzsch, *Commentar über den Psalter*, II, 441, Leipzig), and by the Anglo-Saxon translator of the Psalms. From this knowledge we may conjecture that it passed quickly into circulation in the rest of Europe. Probably, its connection with the Anglo-Saxon translation is the earliest evidence we have of its use in England, but that the name of Bede was, indeed, substituted for that of its true author in the Anglo-Saxon period—or even, at any later date—we have in the present state of knowledge no reason to affirm. That this should have been the case seems not unlikely from the fact that just this commentary was selected by the Anglo-Saxon translator from which to draw his arguments, but the presumption which might have been created in favor of that supposition through the incorporation of this commentary among the works of Bede by his early editors has been altogether

and Francois Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, III, 672–700, Paris, 1641), I have been unable to discover any event in the history of the monastery, in which Ambrose Autpert resided which might accord with the above reference, as the devastation of the monastery by the Saracens in the year 843 would scarcely be spoken of simply as a destruction of the *regula disciplinae*. It seems hardly more likely that it should be the question here of the conclusion of the strife between Potho and Autpert concerning the dignity of abbot (Duchesne, III, 788–790), since this occurred through the accident of the latter's death (A. D. 778). If anything is to be made out of this obscure passage, I should prefer to interpret it as a reference to some general reform of the Benedictine order—the order with which Autpert was united and to which a copyist of his commentary would also be most likely to belong. The only reform which could be taken into consideration for so early a period as that with which we are dealing is the first great reform of the Benedictine order which took place through the action of the council at Aix-la-Chapelle in the years 816–817 in the reign of Louis le Debonnaire (*Histoire des ordres Monastiques*, V, 146–154, Paris, 1718). If this is a correct interpretation, the above passage must have been written, of course, very shortly after the event referred to.

discredited by the fabrication which has been exposed in a preceding part of this dissertation. Whether, in spite of this simple invention, there might not have been some evidence in the MSS. they used of the commentary's having been ascribed to Bede at an early period, it will be impossible to say until these MSS. have been brought to light and submitted to examination.

Expansions in the Anglo-Saxon Text.

In the preceding sections we have succeeded in tracing to their ultimate source the introductions of the prose divisions of the Paris Psalter. The possible objection that the Anglo-Saxon paraphrast might have drawn directly from that source —namely, the commentary of Theodore in its original form— is sufficiently met by pointing out that in every one of the instances enumerated where the pseudo-Bede diverges from the interpretation of Theodore the former is reflected in the introductions of the Paris Psalter and not the latter. Moreover, as has been already remarked, the Anglo-Saxon shows occasional use of the mystical sections of the arguments in the pseudo-Bede which, of course, formed no part of the original Greek. Compare, especially, Ps. 19, 22, 50. What has just been remarked of the Anglo-Saxon is likewise true of the Latin rubrics which were also drawn from the arguments of *Exegesis* —only here, as has been already pointed out, the use of the mystical sections is quite regular.

It will be our next task to consider the question concerning the source of the occasional expansions which are observed in the body of the Anglo-Saxon translation of the Psalms, themselves, and which, for the most part, appear enclosed in brackets in Thorpe's edition. These are usually inserted to make plain the literal meaning of the original where a simple translation of the Latin words would not seem to suffice for the purpose, though the insertions, also, frequently partake of the nature of allegorical interpretation.

In view of the connection which has been established between the Anglo-Saxon introductions and the arguments of the pseudo-Bede, it would seem only natural to expect that the expansions in question should be drawn from the commentary proper of the same work. That such is not the case, however, will appear from the following comparison of corresponding passages. There are many instances, it is true, in which the interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon and the pseudo-Bede coincide, but the overwhelming number of examples which exhibit the contrary relation render it evident, I think, that the coincidence in those instances is not due to any direct adoption on the part of the Anglo-Saxon translator. At the same time, it should be remarked that the examples of coincidence are, by no means, without significance, in so far as they go to prove that the Anglo-Saxon translator, in framing these insertions, was only drawing upon the stock of allegorical interpretation which was current in the Medieval Church.

I will set the examples first in which the interpretation of the two works coincide.

Ps. V, 8: se weg ys min weorc = *Exegesis*, 509, D: . . . . ut dirigas viam meam, id est, directa facies opera mea. So Ps. IX, 24.

Ps. VI, 2: forþam eall min mægen and eall min ban synt gebrytt and gedrefed and min sawl and min mod ys swyðe gedrefed = *Exegesis*, 512, D: *quia conturbata sunt ossa mea:* id est, quia vires et robora mentis sunt imminuta. . . . So Ps. XXXIII, 20.

Ps. IX, 18: þy læs se yfel-willenda mæge don þæt he wille = *Exegesis*, 538, B: *et homo*, id est, aliquis terrenus portans veterem hominem, volens eos devocare. . . .

Ps. IX, 22: and hine bletsiað þa yfelan for his yfelan dædum = *Exegesis*, 540, D: *iniquus benedicetur*, id est, laudatur ab adulatoribus suis in pravis cupiditatibus.

Ps. IX, 35: þu forbrycst þone earm and þæt mægen þæs synfullan = *Exegesis*, 543, B: brachium, id est, potentiam peccatoris.

Ps. XI, 5–7. Ac Dryhten cwyð . . . . cwæð David = *Exegesis*, 549, C: Hi duo versus præcedentes in voce patris lecti sunt: qui vero loquuntur, in voce Prophetæ vel perfectæ animæ leguntur.

Ps. XV, 8: beforan þære ansyne mines modes = *Exegesis*, 561, A: in conspectu meo interius.

Ps. XVI, 4: ic geþolode hearde wegas and manigfeald earfoðu = *Exegesis*, 563, B: *vias duras* . . . . ita ego omnia dura, omnia aspera passus sum.

Ps. XIX, 3: and þin ælmesse sy andfengu = *Exegesis*, 585, D: Illud, inquam, holocaustum fiat pingue, id est delectabile Deo Patri.

Ps. XXII, 5: þæt is þin þreaung and eft þin frefrung = *Exegesis*, 600, A: *virga tua*, id est, paterna correctio tua, *et baculus tuus*, id est, auxilium tuum.

Ps. XXVIII, 5: þa treowa tacniað ofermodra manna anweald = *Exegesis*, 623, C: *Libani* dico *cedros*, id est homines elatos divitiis, potentia, et etiam nobilitate de quolibet populorum.

Ps. XXXIV, 21: Hit is la ful good þæt æfre ure eagan moston geseon þæt we wilnodon = *Exegesis*, 664, C: *Euge, Euge*, id est, bene factum est animæ nostræ quia *oculi nostri viderunt* quod semper videre desideravimus, et quod omnibus modis optavimus.

Ps. XXXVII, 2: þæt synt þa earfoðu þe ic nu þolie = *Exegesis*, 681, C: sagittas vocat . . . . omnes pœnas et miserias quas patimur interius sive exterius.

Ps. XLIV, 2: þæt ys Crist, se ys word and tunge God-Fæder: þurh hine synt ealle þincg geworht = *Exegesis*, 715, D: illud verbum per quod terra, mare, cœlum facta sunt et omnis ornatus eorum. *Omnia enim per ipsum*, ut Evangelia testantur, facta sunt.

Ps. XLIV, 4: þæt ys gastlicu lar, seo ys on þam Godspelle = *Exegesis*, 718, C: Gladius iste est verbum divinæ prædicationis.

Ps. XLIV, 10: þa wyrt-gemang tacniað mistlicu mægen Cristes and þæt hrægl tacnað Cristes lichaman, and þa elpanbænenan hus tacniað rihtwisra manna heortan, þara kyninga dohtor tacniað rihtwisra manna sawla = *Exegesis*, 721, C: *a vestimentis tuis*, id est, a sanctis circumdantibus et ornantibus te, velut corpus vestimentum, spirabunt myrrha et gutta et casia, id est, omnium *odoramenta virtutum ex quibus* scilicet *odoramentis delectaverunt te filiæ regum*, id est, sancti viri .... *a domibus eburneis*, id est, a cordibus eorum innocentissimis, et castissimis.

Ps. XLIV, 11: þæt ys eall cristnu gesamnung = *Exegesis*, 712, D: Regina, id est, Ecclesia.

Ps. XLIV, 12: þæt ys seo gesamnuncg cristnes folces = *Exegesis*, 722, B: Ecce produxit sponsam (i. e., Ecclesiam) et facit nunc apostropham ad eam.

Ps. XLIV, 15: þæt synt mistlice geearnunga fulfremedra manna = *Exegesis*, 723, B: *circumicta varietatibus*, id est multiplex ornamentum virtutum habet exterius.

Ps. XLV, 5: se Hyhsta sende his word and gehwyrfed wæs ure land and ure folc to beteran = *Exegesis*, 726, C: *terra*, id est, plebs gentilis quae, cum prius esset pulvis, modo facta est terra culta.

Ps. XLVII, 6: seo is on þam lande þe Cilicia hatte = *Exegesis*, 751, C: Fuerunt qui dicerent per Tharsin designari Ciliciam, regionem opulentissimam et potentissimam, quia Tharsis civitas ejus est metropolis. Cf. Cassiodorus to same verse, Migne, LXX, 338, C: Tharso Ciliciae; also, Haymo, Migne, CXVI, 359, C. This occurs frequently repeated in the glosses, so in Royal MS. 2BV.

Ps. XLVIII, 9: þeah hy gesibbe hæbben, hy beð him swyðe fremde ðonne hi nan good æfter him ne doð = *Exegesis*, 737, A: *relinquent* illis qui nihil sibi nec eleemosynis nec orationibus proderunt. Nam et si relinquent nepotibus et filiis, *relinquent* tamen, eis ut *alienis*, id est, nihil sibi proficientibus.

The above constitute the whole number of instances in which I have been able to detect any marked coincidence of inter-

pretation between the Anglo-Saxon and the pseudo-Bede. It would involve a needless consumption of space to attempt to offer the results of the comparison made in the case of passages where no such coincidence has been observed. Leaving aside the great number of those in which the interpretations of the pseudo-Bede and the Paris Psalter move on altogether different lines, I will only enumerate the verses the interpretations of which in the two works are absolutely incompatible.

Ps. IV, 8, V, 3, VII, 8, 12, VIII, 3, IX, 4, 5, 23, 26, 27, 35, X, 5, 6, XIII, 7, XV, 2, 3, 7, XVI, 10, XVII, 43, XVIII, 12, XXI, 2, XXVIII, 7, XXIX, 3, 5, XXX, 22, XXXI, 7, XXXIV, 12, 13, XXXVI, 20, 22, XL, 1, XLI, 8, XLIV, 17 (general method of interpretation, however, is the same), XLV, 3, XLVI, 9, XLVIII, 5, L, 3.

We have it, then, as a plain result of this and the preceding comparisons that the Anglo-Saxon translator paraphrased the arguments of the pseudo-Bede, drawing occasionally upon *Explanationes*, also, in order to supply the psalms in his translation with introductory prefaces, but that he did not make use of the commentary proper. In view of the respective relations of these prefaces and of the expansions in the body of the Anglo-Saxon translation to the pseudo-Bede, the suspicion might justly be awakened, are these prefaces and the translation, indeed, the work of the same man? That such a question, however, must be answered in the affirmative will appear at once from a comparison of the following passages in which the same distinctive translation of words of the Latin original is found in both the introduction and the translation of the psalm. In each of these cases the translator, in composing the introductions, employs phrases which occur in the psalms.

Ps. XXXVI, 1.—Noli æmulari inter malignantes = Ne wundrie ge þæra yfelwillendra, and þæra orsorgra, ne him na ne onhyriað (v. 1 of the Anglo-Saxon translation).

David . . . . lærde ealle geleaffulle þæt hy ne onhyredon þam yfelwillendum, þeah him þuhte þæt hi gesælige and orsorge wæron (Introduction).

The use of the word *orsorg* occurring in both introduction and text without anything to suggest it in the Latin and the peculiar translation of *æmulari* prove that the two translations were executed by the same hand.

Ps. XXXVIII, 16: Remitte mihi ut refrigerer = Forlæt me nu, Drihten, to sumre rothwile on þisse weorulde (v. 16, in Anglo-Saxon translation).

. . . . he wilnode ealra swiðost, þæt him God sealde sume frofre, and sume rothwile on þys andweardum life (Introduction).

Ps. XXXIX, 1: Expectans expectavi Dominum, et respexit me = Næs ic on nauht idlum anbide, þeah hit me lang anbid þuhte, þa ða ic anbidode Godes fultumes (v. 1 of the Anglo-Saxon translation).

David sang þysne nigon and þritigoðan sealm, gylpende on þam sealme, þæt he nauht idel nære, þa he anbidode Godes fultumes (Introduction).

A comparison of the introduction to Ps. IX, with the translation of v. 16 of the same psalm, illustrates the same relation.

The fact, then, that the translator uses the arguments of the pseudo-Bede, solely, and not the commentary proper is placed beyond a doubt. The reasons which influenced him in his procedure will be more fittingly discussed in the section on authorship and I shall therefore postpone my interpretation of the relation observed to that place. In the meanwhile it might be objected that the arguments were probably not known to the translator in connection with the commentary proper in which case the source of the expansions might still be found in some other of the ancient expositions of the Psalms. That I, myself, do not entertain the idea of such a separation as that suggested for the time that our translation was composed will appear from the later discussion. Nevertheless, the possibility of separation at least is to be considered and the consequent possibility that the translator resorted to a different commentary for the expansions in his text. With a view to

settling finally the question as to the source of these expansions I have made comparisons throughout of the passages with corresponding portions of the remaining extant Psalm commentaries of the Western Church written before the middle of the eleventh century [1]—the approximate date of the Anglo-Saxon MS. The results of such a comparison for the pseudo-Jerome and St. Augustine's *Enarrationes* have already been presented in full by Wichmann (*Anglia*, XI, 46–48), as has just been done in the preceding pages for the pseudo-Bede. The only commentators besides these whose expositions on the Psalms have come down to us from the period mentioned are Cassiodore, Haymo, Rémi of Auxerre (Remigius Antissidorensis) and Bruno of Würzburg.[2] What Delitzsch has said of these and of later expositions of the Psalms in the Middle Ages will be found hardly to exceed the truth by those who follow in his footsteps. "Wenn man einen dieser ausleger kennt, so kennt man schier sie alle. Das meiste was sie bieten ist echo der alten" (*Commentar*, II, 441). The comparisons referred to put it beyond question that the interpolations in the Anglo-Saxon version are not drawn directly from any of these commentaries. It would be useless to burden our pages with the numerous proofs of this negative result which accumulated under my examination. I think it desirable on the other hand to cite from these works a list of passages not altogether inconsiderable in number which do

[1] I do not speak here of partial commentaries like those of Alcuin and Pope Gregory I. on the Penitential Psalms or of St. Hilary on select psalms, although I have also made the comparison for these works with sufficient exactness to assure myself that the works in question, also, furnished no aid to our translator.

[2] References for the expositions of Cassiodore and Haymo have already been given. Rémi's *Enarrationes* will be found, Migne, CXXXI, 133–844, Bruno's *Expositio*, Migne, CXLII, 39–530. Wichmann (p. 46) cites Smaragdus among the authors of the Psalm commentaries, but no work of this description has come down to us under his name.

This error is committed, also, by J. Bochius, whose *Psalmorum Davidis Parodia Heroica*, Antwerp, 1608, contains the best list I have seen of the ancient commentators on the Psalms.

exhibit a parallelism to the corresponding interpretations of the Paris Psalter, because they strengthen the proofs already supplied from the parallel passages from St. Augustine's *Enarrationes*, the *Breviarium in Psalmos*, and the pseudo-Bede that the interpolations of the Anglo-Saxon translator, especially in the case of allegorical interpretations, which are the instances of chief demonstrative weight, were drawn from the common stock of Psalm interpretation which was current in the Medieval Church. I shall only reproduce examples of coincident interpretation in the case of passages for which Wichmann has not already cited parallels from the two great sources of medieval Psalm commentaries mentioned above, namely, St. Augustine's *Enarrationes* and the pseudo-Jerome's *Breviarium in Psalmos*. Nothing new was gained from Haymo's commentary, so the following quotations are exclusively from Cassiodore, Rémi, and Bruno of Würzburg, with one or two trifling exceptions from other sources[1] indicated in the proper

[1] Before discovering the connection of the Paris Psalter with the pseudo-Bede, I had been inclined to suspect that the expansions which are found in the body of the Anglo-Saxon translation were due to what is, perhaps, the most widespread of all sources of corruption in texts—namely, the taking over into the translated text of glosses from the MS. which the translator had before him. Glossed Latin Psalters were of such common use in the Middle Ages that it is *a priori* not improbable that the translator should have selected one for his work. I was all the more strongly inclined to this suspicion, inasmuch as the Middle English prose version of the Psalms is known to have suffered corruption through just this influence of a glossed original (s. *The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter*, edited by Karl D. Bülbring, London, 1891, E. E. T. S., No. 97, Preface, XI). Acting on this supposition, I examined the only specimens of Latin glossed Psalters antedating the Paris Psalter accessible to me, namely, Royal MS., 2BV. and Additional MS. 18043, of the British Museum. Neither of these, however, contained the originals of our expansions. I made a collection of parallels from glosses in these MSS. to expanded passages in the Anglo-Saxon texts, but a more intimate acquaintance with the ancient commentaries later on taught me that the glosses in question were obviously drawn from the best known of the patristic expositions of the Psalms. For instance, Additional 18043 is especially dependent on the *Breviarium in Psalmos* and Royal 2BV. on Augustine and Cassiodore. I may say, in conclusion, that a comparison with the *Glossa Ordinaria* of Walafridus Strabo was unexpectedly quite barren of results.

place. The reader will observe no greater freedom in the expression of the thought with which tradition supplied the translator than has already been remarked in the case of the paraphrase of the arguments of the pseudo-Bede.

Ps. XIV, 2: þa andswarode Drihten þæs witgan mode, þurh onbryrdnesse þæs halgan gastes; and cwæð se witga. = Remigius, 211, B: Responsio Domini Patris.

Ps. XVI, 2: and [þu] me sude mid þam fyre monegra earfoðða = Remigius, 218, C: igne id est, valida tribulatione. Cf. St. Augustine, Migne, XXXVI, 143.

Ps. XVI, 10: þa eagan heora modes habbað geteohhad þæt hi me gebygen oð eorðan = Remigius, 220, D: oculos suos: mentem qua divinitatem quæ in me operabatur videre debuerunt, *statuerunt*, id est, firmiter proposuerunt *declinare*, id est, deorsum inclinare in terram, id est, corpus meum.

Ps. XVII, 7: þæt is þæt mægen minra ofermodena feonda = Remigius, 227, B: montes, id est, superbi hujus sæculi. So St. Augustine, p. 149.

Ps. XVIII, 7: ægðer ge modes ge lichaman = Remigius, 241, B: *oculos* interioris hominis.

Ps. XXI, 10: þæt synt lytle and niwe fynd = Remigius, 253, C: lasciviens plebs Judaica.

Þæt synt strengran fynd = tauri Principes Judæorum.

Ps. XXI, 15: þæt ys min mægn and mine getrywan frynd, þam ic getruwode swa wel swa minum agenum limum = Cassiodorus, 161, A: Dinumerata sunt etiam ossa ejus, id est, Apostoli sive reliqui Christiani quando persecutione facta .... quærebantur exstingui.

It is only desired here to show that the general method of interpretation is the same.

Ps. XXV, 6: þæt is þæt ic wære unscyldig betwuh him = Remigius, 273, A: *lavabo inter innocentes manus meas*, imitando innocentes et hoc modo ens inter eos.

Ps. XXVI, 16: gebola Drihtnes willan = Remigius, 278, D: *Sustine Dominum*, pondus præceptorum Domini.

Ps. XXX, 22: ægðer ge modes ge lichaman = Remigius, 296, D: in abditu faciei tuæ id est, intus in corde.

Ps. XXXVI, 9: Forþæm þa þe yfel doð and þæt ne betað = *Breviarium* (to Ps. V, 5), 850, C: Non dixit qui operati sunt iniquitatem sed operantur iniquitatem. Qui perseverant in peccato, illi odio habentur a Domino, dimiserunt illi amantur a Deo.

Ps. XXXVI, 20: þa ryhtwisan syllað ægðer ge to borge ge to gife = Remigius, 336, B: da pauperi qui tibi non solvere potest: et accipe Dominum fidei jussorem et magnum tibi crescit fenus.

Ps. XXXVII, 7: min lichama is full flæsclicra lusta = Bruno, 163, B: Illusionibus illis confitetur se pœnitens esse repletum atque infirmatum quibus diabolus humanum genus quotidie illicit et suadet ut delinquat.

Ps. XXXIX, 8: On forewardre þyssere bec ys awriten be me and eac on manegum oðrum = Bruno, 171, B: In capite libri scriptum est de me; in libro isto Psalmorum: then cites first verses of the Gospel of St. John and of Genesis as other illustrations of the text.

Ps. XLIII, 10: And we þa heredon God ælce dæge, and we wæron eac geherede fram oðrum þeodum for his weorcum = Cassiodorus, 312, C: Sed ne crederes otiosos futuros, qui se in Deo dixerunt *esse laudandos*, profitentur se quoque præconia Domini jugiter personare.

Ps. XLIV, 7: þæt ys þæt hy oðer twega, oððe on andetnesse gefeallað, oððe on helle = Cassiodorus, 322, A: *Populi sub te cadent*, conversiones significat hominum: quando credentes in humilitatem feliciter cadunt qui prius vitio præsumtionis erecti sunt.

Ps. XLIV, 8: seo gerecð ælcne mann, oððe to ðinum willan oððe to wite = Cassiodorus, 322, C: virga ista justos regit, impios percutit.

Ps. XLIV, 12: þæt synd yfelwillende menn and unðeawas . . . . þæt ys deofol = Remigius, 380, D: carnalia constituta vel populum Babyloniæ, cui populo rex fuit diabolus.

Ps. XLIV, 13: þæt synt þa sawla þe beoð gewelgode mid goodum geearningcgum = Cassiodorus, 326, A: sed *filiarum* istius vocabulo civitatis animas mavult significare fidelium.

Ps. XLV, 3: þa up-ahafenan kyningcgas = Remigius, 383, B: montes, principes terreni.

Ps. XLV, 4: forþam ne wyrð seo burh næfre onwend, þa hwile þe God byð unonawendlic on hire midle = Remigius, 383, B: Quia *Deus* est in *medio* . . . . licet montes conturbentur, *non commovebitur* civitas ipsa a prædicatione Evangelii.

Ps. XLV, 8: þa andswarode God þæs witgan mode and cwæð eft þurh þone witgan = Bruno, 192, B: Hunc versiculum loquuntur filii Core (Vulgate title) ex persona Domini.

Ps. XLVIII, 18: Forþæm þe he nyste him nænne ðanc, ne Gode ne mannum þæs ðe he him sealde syððan he hit hæfde: butan þa ane hwile, þe hit him man sealde = Glossed Psalter (British Museum) Royal 2BV: mali tunc Dominum benedicunt quando temporalia bona percipiunt et cum diripiunt.

It will be observed that taking those instances in the Anglo-Saxon version in which the language of the psalms is mystically interpreted, only three (Ps. XXXI, 7, XLI, 8, XLIV, 16) remain unrepresented by parallels in the lists of examples which have been given by Wichmann and myself. It would be useless to examine more closely the reason of this insignificant number of departures, inasmuch as there is no reason to believe that the translator drew directly, or systematically, at any rate, from any commentary, and by an occasional slip of memory, when he thought it worth while to add an explanation of what seemed to him to have been expressed mystically by the psalmist, he would be thrown upon the resources of his own invention. Not only, however, are the instances of mystical interpretation almost without exception now provided with parallels from the writings of the Fathers in the above lists, but a very large number, also, of cases in which the expansion springs from an endeavor on the part of the translator to develop the meaning of his original according to the literal sense.

Authorship.

In view of the results of the comparisons which have just been presented I think we are no longer justified in clinging to the theory of Alfredian authorship for the Anglo-Saxon translation. After the preceding investigation, it is true, there can be no room left for doubt that in executing the body of the version, the translator worked with only rare consultation of commentaries, if any. But the assumption which runs through the whole of Wichmann's treatment of the subject, that, such being the case, the author could not have been an ecclesiastic (cf. especially pp. 81 and 88) is obviously unwarranted. In the first place it might be remarked that as a matter of fact, as has been shown above, the translator did, after all, use a commentary for the prefaces to the psalms, and the reason for his not drawing upon the same commentary for his interpolations will be considered in a moment. But to satisfy oneself that the assumption referred to is untenable, it is only necessary to recall that the metrical division of the Paris Psalter is notoriously deformed by more flagrant errors of translation than the division now under consideration (s. Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 436), though the same resource of consulting commentaries was also open to its author. It will hardly be maintained, however, that this version which, as is known (s. Bouterwek, *Caedmon's Biblische Dichtungen*, p. CLXXXIII), was in use in the liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon Church was not of purely ecclesiastical origin. The fact, then, that the translator occasionally blundered instead of consulting the commentaries is clearly no obstacle to an acceptance of the natural supposition that he was a member of one of the ecclesiastical orders. On the other hand, the general familiarity with allegorical interpretation which he is proved by our parallels to have possessed, notwithstanding his independence of any particular commentary, would be incomprehensible on the supposition of this version having been the work of a layman, even though the layman should be King

Alfred. If we leave aside the prefaces I can subscribe with little reservation to Wichmann's opinion (p. 49), that the interpolations of the text represent simply what the author had gathered by hearing and reading. But that any one save a churchman by profession should have carried in his head so considerable a mass of interpretation in detail—often agreeing exactly with that of leading commentaries (cf., for instance, Ps. 7, 12 ff., 44, 10)—seems, indeed, inconceivable.

The character of these interpolations points, moreover, to the same conclusion. Who does not recognize in the following insertion at Ps. 48, 7, the note of the professional monk or priest? The verse in the Latin original runs, "Frater non redimit; redimet homo; non dabit Deo placationem suam; et pretium redemtionis animæ suæ, nec laborabit in æternum et vivet in finem." These words are rendered by the Anglo-Saxon, "þæt nan broðor oðres sawle nele alysan of helle ne ne mæg, þeah he wylle, gif he sylf nanwuht nyle, ne ne deð to goode þa hwile þe he her byð." Then comes immediately the following sermonizing interpolation which, it will be found impossible, I think, to impute to King Alfred. "Gylde forþy him sylf, and alyse his sawle, þa hwile þe he her sy; forþam se broðor oððe nyle, oððe ne mæg, gif he sylf na ne onginð to tilianne þæt he þæt weorð agife to alysnesse his sawle; ac þæt ys wyrse þæt full neah ælc mann þæs tiolað, fram þæm anginne his lifes, oð þæne ende hu he on ecnesse swincan mæge."

Let us now consider, however, the motives which prevented the translator from using for text as well as for prefaces the commentary which he has been proved to have used for the latter.

It might first be asked, may not the originals of the latter alone—that is the arguments of *Exegesis* only—have been accessible to him? may these not have existed independently of the commentary to which we now find them attached? I should see no reason for hesitating to give a negative answer to this question. As we have seen, the very condition of the

arguments reaching England was their becoming a part of the pseudo-Bede. That they ever existed apart from this commentary in England we have not the slightest ground for believing, since they have been found nowhere save in connection with this work, and if, indeed, they had ever existed apart from it there, it could only have been in connection with another commentary or glossed Psalter. At least, I am unaware of the existence in the Middle Ages of separate collections of such arguments, whereas somewhat similar *proemia* of an orthodox character are occasionally found in the Church commentaries, e. g., the *Breviarium in Psalmos*. But we have seen that the Anglo-Saxon version is not less independent of the other commentators than of the author of the pseudo-Bede itself; hence, there is no reason for supposing that the arguments were ever united with any other exposition of the Psalms than that to which we now find them attached.

The true explanation of the translator's working independently of the commentaries in the body of his text is to be sought not so much in his total ignorance of these aids as in the practical nature of the object he proposed to himself. This object evidently was to furnish a plain rendering of the Psalter into English speech, and it is only sporadically and without system that on comparatively rare occasions he has inserted bits of allegorical or other interpretation, as they occurred to him. That he should have now and then committed blunders in turning the Latin original into his own language when the commentaries would have set him right, is to be considered the result either of his own indolence or over-confidence or of the inaccessibility of such works to him at the time of his encountering the difficulties in question. At the same time it cannot but occur to any one who is familiar with the patristic expositions, that it is not singular, after all, that a person pursuing the practical object indicated above should have rarely sought assistance from this quarter. The interpretation according to the literal sense, which alone could have been of use to the translator, did not lie within the scope of these works, and

it is only by a process of inference, not always easy, that the reader is able to discover from the allegorical interpretation of a passage what was the commentator's interpretation of its simple sense. On the other hand, the arguments of *Exegesis* were made use of by the translator, since it seemed particularly desirable in a work of the character he had in hand that the interpretation of each psalm should be indicated succinctly by such introductory prefaces as we find in the prose division of the Paris Psalter. His choice of the pseudo-Bede may have been determined either by accident or, more probably, by the fact that the arguments of this commentary in the form we have it offer a greater variety of matter than can be found in the case of the other patristic commentaries, in which, for the rest, prefaces to the psalms of any sort, though they occur, are exceptional.

With the above paragraphs I should conclude my observations on the question of authorship for the prose division of the Paris Psalter as distinct from that of date of composition, but as Wichmann (pp. 84–95) has cited and discussed at some length a number of passages in the Anglo-Saxon translation, characterized either by expansions or mistranslations, from which he draws the inference of Alfredian authorship for this work, it will be necessary for me to prolong the present discussion somewhat in order to submit the evidence of the passages concerned to a reëxamination. I will omit in the following those passages in which Wichmann has been at some pains to show from the errors of the translator that he did not have recourse to the commentaries in the performance of his work, inasmuch as this question may now be regarded, I think, as finally settled. The inference, however, which in each instance he draws from this fact—namely, the inference that the author of the translation was, therefore, a layman—is altogether unwarrantable, as I have pointed out above by means of the parallel metrical version of Ps. 51–150. The passages in question I will take up in the order of Wichmann's discussion.

Ps. 5, 8.—We have here in the Anglo-Saxon the gloss inserted: se weg is min weorc.—Wichmann cites as parallel from King Alfred's translation of the *Cura Pastoralis*, 266, 3 a similar gloss to *weg*. But the parallel is without force, as the gloss *opera* for *via* in the Latin commentaries and glossed Psalters is, perhaps, the commonest of all glosses. For instance, with reference to this very verse of Ps. 5, we find in *Exegesis*, 509, D. the comment, "Deduc me, inquam, et ita hoc agas ut dirigas viam meam, id est, directa facies opera mea." In the glossed Psalter, Additional MS. 18043 (British Museum) we find again to the verse the gloss: cujus viæ, id est, opera. It is useless to adduce the numberless examples that might be added to the above.

Ps. 7, 12–13.—Et in ipso paravit vasa mortis, sagittas suas ardentibus effecit = he teohaŏ þæt he scyle sceotan þæt deaŏes fæt [þæt synt þa unrihtwisan he gedeŏ his flan fyrena ŏæt he mæge mid sceotan] and bærnan þa þe her byrnaŏ on wrænnesse and on unŏeawum.

It is difficult to see for what purpose Wichmann (p. 85) has cited the two passages from the *Cura Pastoralis*, 76, 1 ff., 360, 16. These are both close translations of the corresponding passages of their Latin originals and the *Domini vasa* of that text have nothing to do with the *vasa mortis* of the Psalmist. The allegorical interpretation of the word *vasa* even is different in the two cases. It is evident, however, that the glossator here followed the interpretation of the *Breviarium in Psalmos* which he had in mind, beginning with verse 12, where he interprets the subject of the Latin *vibrabit* as the devil. The author of the *Breviarium* begins his interpretation of the passage with the words: "Iste locus duplicem recipit intelligentiam" (p. 836, C), then cites only one interpretation for verse 12 (p. 836, D), namely, "nisi egeritis pœnitentiam, Dominus vos gladio suo percutiet," but in the gloss to verse 15 (same page) the alternative interpretation appears: "hoc est nisi conversi fueritis, nisi egeritis pœnitentiam, semper diabolus paratum habet arcum, emittit sagittas quibus nos percutiat,

etc." The alternative interpretation is carried through in Additional MS. 18043 just as in the Anglo-Saxon; the glosses of that manuscript, as has already been remarked elsewhere, are largely drawn from the *Breviarium in Psalmos*. We find in it no comment immediately after *vibravit*, but after the words: arcum suum tetendit et paravit illum, occurs the gloss: "De diabolo ista dicuntur, quia nisi conversi penitentiam egerimus, gladium malitiarum suarum vibravit ad percutiendum nos, quia semper habet arcum paratum insidiarum suarum, de quo emittit sagittas tam per se quam per sua membra quibus nos vulneret ut interficiat. Hoc sunt mortiferæ et venenosæ suasiones quæ et vasa mortis dicuntur." As gloss to the words: sagittas suas ardentibus effecit, Additional MS. 18043 has again (following the *Breviarium*): "Et pulchre dixit ardentibus quorum enim corda ardent libidine ceterisque vitiis." There follows then in this manuscript the alternative interpretation of verses 12–13, according to which the subject of *vibravit* is *Dominus*, and *gladius* is Christ.

Ps. 10, 5.—As gloss to *brœwas* translating the Latin *palpebræ* the Anglo-Saxon adds: þæt ys rihta dom. Again, the parallel which Wichmann adduces from *Cura Pastoralis*, 192, 25 ff. is beside the purpose, inasmuch as the passage quoted simply offers a translation of the corresponding sentences of its Latin original. Whatever likeness there may exist in the two cases is between the Latin originals, in the first instance, and is, of course, bound under any circumstances to be reflected in accurate translations of these. Evidently the Anglo-Saxon gloss is based on the interpretation found in the *Breviarium*, p. 846, A, and repeated, I may say, in Additional MS. 18043. I quote the gloss from the latter for this passage: "In palpebris: vel ipsi oculi quorum sunt pars, id est, subtilitas judiciorum Dei quibus aliis aperit, aliis claudit intelligitur."

Ps. 15, 2.—One will easily grant that the Anglo-Saxon interpretation of this passage rests upon "ein gedanke, der einem könige am besten in den mund gelegt wird," for, as the introduction to the psalm shows, the translator interpreted

it as a psalm of King David: þone fifteoðan sealm Dauid sang be his earfoðum, ægðer ge modes ge lichaman, etc.

Ps. 15, 5.—The circumstance just pointed out explains the translation of *hæreditatem* and *hæreditas* by *land and rice* in this verse.

Ps. 17, 7.—Fundamenta montium conturbata sunt = se grundweall þara munta wæs tohrered [þæt is þæt mægen minra ofermodena feonda].—I do not see that there is any misunderstanding of the text, the translator only takes *montes* in an allegorical sense as the medieval commentators were in the habit of doing. Surely, if once *montes* were generally interpreted *superbi* or *principes superbi* (*Exegesis*, 569 f.) it is not strange that *fundamenta* should be interpreted by *mægn* = might. These *superbi* would have to be enemies from the context. It would seem more natural in the case of such a passage as the present that the author, if not an ecclesiastic, should not have thought of allegorical interpretation at all, for none was needed for the understanding of the passage. Wichmann, besides, makes the gratuitous assumption (p. 86) that a monk would have certainly followed the commentators and interpreted the passage as having reference to the crucifixion of Christ. But allegorical interpretations are altogether a secondary matter with the translator. The whole psalm represents the rescue of David through the aid of Jehovah and has been rendered with this understanding by the Anglo-Saxon. It is difficult to conceive how else with his practical object in view it could have been rendered. The citation of the passage from the *Cura Pastoralis*, 310, 8 is again without weight, since the Anglo-Saxon words there: Ða weallas ðonne Hierusalem getacniað ða mægenu ðære saule, are simply a literal translation of the Latin original: Muri autem Jerusalem virtutes sunt animæ (Migne, LXXVII, 81, C).

Ps. 17, 28.—Again to Wichmann's objection that *murum* is translated literally without mystical explanation (p. 87), it is to be replied that in a translation in which throughout, in accordance with its plan, so little commentary is mingled, we

have no right to base an argument as to authorship on the absence of such an explanation. The Anglo-Saxon translation is just as easily understood as the original Hebrew.

Ps. 18, 12.—Si mei non fuerint dominati, tunc immaculatus ero, et emundabor a delicto maximo = Gif mine fynd ne ricsiað ofer me, þonne beo ic unwemme, and beo geclænsod from þæm mæstum scyldum [ac gif hi me abysgiað, þonne ne mæg ic smeagan mine unscylda, ne eac þinne willan ne mæg smeagan to wyrcanne].—The Anglo-Saxon translator has certainly misunderstood his original here, but the mistake is due to the reading *dominati*. Having once been involved in error, in order to make the sense of the passage clear, according to his conception of it, he was compelled to add in explanation the words contained in brackets. It is wrong, however, to say that the translator conceives the deliverance *a maximo delicto* as "befreiung von weltlichen, die persönliche freiheit bedrohenden feinden" (p. 87). The deliverance from enemies to which the Anglo-Saxon refers is implied in *Si mei non fuerint dominati*, not in *emundabor a delicto maximo*. We have no right, moreover, to assume with Wichmann (*ib.*) in consequence of this addition, "ac gif . . . . to wyrcanne," that the translator, himself, considered personal liberty indispensable for self-probation and execution of the divine will. The addition was made not to express any personal view of the translator. It was only the logical consequence of his misunderstanding of *si mei non fuerint dominati*. Last of all, the psalm is conceived as the psalm of King David and the mistake in translation was all the more easy from that conception.

The Anglo-Saxon is not the only commentator who had been mislead by *dominati*. Cf. Haymo, Migne, CXVI, 257, D.

For an expansion similar to that in this passage see Ps. 39, 14.

Ps. 39, 1.—Et eduxit me de lacu miseriæ et de luto fæcis = and alædde me fram þam pytte ælcra yrmða and of þam duste and of þam drosnum ælces þeowdomes and ælcre hæftnyde.—The Anglo-Saxon has here very naturally rendered *de lacu*

miseriae et de luto faecis by terms denoting servitude and captivity, since according to the introduction that goes immediately before (following his authority, the Theodorean argument of the pseudo-Bede) he conceived the psalm as one which was sung by the captive Israelites in Babylon. It is unnecessary, then, to resort to the idea of a layman translator to explain the turn of phrase—as we have here simply an application of the conception which the commentary supplied.

Ps. 21, 15.—Foderunt manus meas et pedes meos, dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea.—Wichmann (p. 88) objects that the Anglo-Saxon gloss to the above sentence: þæt ys min mægn and mine getrywan frynd, ðam ic getruwode, swa wel swa minum agenum limum, shows that the translator applied these words to himself. This is obviously incorrect, however. The translator only follows his usual custom of interpreting in the person of King David, the assumed author of all the psalms, and according to the particular supposed circumstances of its composition. The Anglo-Saxon introduction to this psalm is lost, but the argument in the pseudo-Bede gives the clue to its interpretation: "Rogat Dominum David factione Absalom laborans." The interpretation of the translator agrees very well with the period of Absalom's rebellion, if we suppose that he had the historical interpretation of the argument in mind.

Ps. 39, 2.—To Wichmann's criticism of this passage (p. 88), it is again to be repeated that it was not the purpose of the translator to suggest allegorical interpretations. He only gives a literal interpretation of figurative phrases, probably, also, with especial reference to the authorship of the psalm and the circumstances under which it was sung as explained in the introductions.

Et statuit super petram pedes meos = and he asette mine fet on swiðe heanne stan [þæt ys on swyðe heah setl and on swyðe fæstne anweald].

The *heah setl* could only be the seat of a royal personage, of course, but David is the King that the translator has in mind.

To turn the employment of such a word into an argument for royal authorship seems to verge closely on the absurd.

Ps. 13, 6.—Equally trivial seem Wichmann's reasons for regarding the use of *for yflum willum* as an indication of non-clerical authorship. Such superfluous clauses are constantly added by the translator—but it is useless to argue upon evidence of this sort, which is too ridiculously slight to support an inference in favor of the one view or the other. Similarly with regard to *yrfeweard* instead of *laf*, translating *reliquiae* (Ps. 36, 36–37). If monks did not have heirs, themselves, there was certainly nothing to prevent them from knowing that other men had them.

Ps. 46, 9.—Þa ealdormen ealre eorðan becumað to Abrahames Gode and beoð him underðydde; forþam he oferswiðde þa strangan kyningas ofer eorðan, þa þe wæron upahafene swa þas godas. With these words Wichmann (p. 92) compares a passage from Alfred's translation of Augustine's Soliloquies, fol. 44 a: he wealt þara cyninga ðe mæstne anweald habbað þisses middangeardes, ða beoð eallum mannum gelice acende and æac oðrum mannum gelice sweltað; þa læt he ricsian ða hwile, þe he wyle. The resemblance, however, between the passages is too distant to possess any significance. The thought is a commonplace one and what is most distinctive of each passage *þa þe wæron upahafene swa þas godas* in the Psalms, and *ða beoð eallum mannum gelice sweltað* in the Soliloquies, finds no representative in the other.

Ps. 48, 7–8.—The passage from the *Cura Pastoralis*, 338, 8 (quoted p. 93) has no demonstrative weight, because it is simply a rendering of the corresponding Latin of Gregory, Migne, LXXVII, 88, A: "Hinc enim Psalmista ait, *non dabit Deo propitiationem suam, nec pretium redemptionis animæ suæ.* Pretium namque redemptionis dare est opus bonum prævenienti nos gratiæ reddere. Hinc Joannes exclamat dicens: *Jam securis ad radicem arboris posita est. Omnis arbor quæ non facit fructum bonum* excidetur et in ignem mittetur (Luc., III, 9 (sic). Qui ergo se innoxios quia aliena non rapiunt æsti-

mant ictum securis vicinæ prævideant, et torporem improvidæ securitatis amittant, ne cum ferre fructum boni operis negligunt, a præsenti vita funditus quasi a viriditate radicis exsecentur."

Finally, Wichmann (p. 93 f.) quotes a number of passages from the Psalms which occur in the Anglo-Saxon version of the *Cura Pastoralis*, as offering parallels to the corresponding passages in the Paris Psalter. These parallels, however, are altogether without weight. It would be strange, indeed, if two fairly accurate renderings of the same words in the same language, whether executed by two different persons or the same person, did not betray "ein deutliches zusammenklingen." It is unfair, moreover, to draw into the comparison the versions of Spelman's Psalter (*Davidis Latino-Saxonicum vetus, a Johanne Spelmanno . . . . editum*, etc., London, 1640) in order to make a point of the relatively closer agreement of the Paris Psalter with the translations of the *Cura Pastoralis*. The Psalter which Spelman has edited is simply an interlinear version. According to its plan, the Anglo-Saxon equivalent of each Latin word is set over that word in the order of the original, so that it is seriously misleading to print words thus disjoined (so Wichmann does in the notes to p. 94) as if they constituted sentences in an Anglo-Saxon translation of the ordinary form, such as those of the Paris Psalter and the *Cura Pastoralis*. Against this procedure Spelman, himself, had given the warning: "Monendus es autem, Lector, non hic reperiri integrum aut genuinum sermonis Saxonici contextum, sed ad singula verba Latina, verbales tantummodò Versiones, in quibus a linguæ illius proprietate necessario sæpè disceditur" (s. Preface). This plan of Spelman's Psalter explains why each word of the Latin is rendered simply by a single equivalent in the Anglo-Saxon—in contrast to the frequent renderings by two synonyms in the Paris Psalter and *Cura Pastoralis* in accordance with *linguæ illius proprietas*. This contrast might tend to produce a false notion of the cause of the

comparative agreement between the Paris Psalter and the *Cura Pastoralis*.[1]

Date of Composition.

In the section of his article devoted to a presentation of what is characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon version of Ps. 1–50 in phonology and inflections (pp. 53–63), Wichmann has endeavored to detect in the great mass of forms evidence to support the suggestion of Prof. Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 436,—for it is hardly more—that the version in question is the work of King Alfred. Wichmann has not, himself, offered any summary of the linguistic evidence which he supposes to afford confirmation of that suggestion, although he makes the general remark at the close of this division of his work that "die häufigen, an ältere zeit erinnernden laut- und formgestalten erheben die vermutung Wülker's . . . . zu immer grösserer wahrscheinlichkeit" (p. 63). On a careful examination of the whole discussion embraced in the pages cited above, the following eleven points, relating, partly, to phonology and, partly, to the system of inflectional forms appear from the accompanying remarks to constitute the basis of the statement just quoted. (1) The occasional occurrence of *o* before nasals instead of *a*

[1] I will refrain from discussing the laborious comparison of the vocabulary of our text with that of King Alfred's various translations which Wichmann has made, pp. 71–79. It seems to me impossible to draw any conclusion from such comparisons—at least, I can recall no instance where the vocabulary test as distinguished from that of phraseology has been found to prove anything. This so-called test has never enjoyed any favor outside of Germany and I think the signs are not wanting that its popularity there is on the wane. At any rate, in the present instance, after all his labor, Wichmann, himself, has not made the slightest attempt to point out in what respect the results of his comparisons tell in favor of Alfredian authorship. One may say, also, of the points of phraseology and diction discussed on pp. 66–71, 80, 83 f., what Fritsche observed in a similar case many years ago, *Anglia*, II, 453, that, if they prove anything, it is simply that the text was composed in the same period as those with which it is compared. As a matter of fact, there are none of the words and phrases or peculiarities of translation cited by Wichmann which do not, also, occur—in many cases, abundantly—outside of the works of Alfred.

which is customary in late West-Saxon usage (s. p. 53). (2) *a* unbroken six times before *l* + consonant (p. 54). (3) The occurrence three times of the form *meahte* instead of *mihte*. Reference to Wichmann's citations will show that *ea* for *i* before *h* occurs in our text only in the case of this one word (p. 54). (4) *e* instead of *i* as a middle vowel in forms like *manege*, *eldeodegum*, etc., twenty times in all, where the late West-Saxon usage requires *i* (p. 54). (5) The form *weoruld* instead of *woruld*, which latter, according to Wichmann's statement, was exclusively used in the language of Aelfric; *weoruld* occurs in our text fourteen times against *woruld*, nine times (p. 54). (6) Our text occasionally preserves the distinctive forms of the accusatives singular of feminines of the *i*-declension, which in the older West-Saxon were without endings —in the later West-Saxon adopted the *-e* of the *a*-stems (p. 57). (7) The occurrence three times of the ending *-a* for the nominative, accusative plural of the feminine adjective (strong declension). The forms concerned are *manega*, twice, *mistlica*, once. The masculine ending in the late West-Saxon takes the place of the feminine (p. 58). (8) Our text frequently shows older *-u*, *-o* as ending of the nom. and acc. plural of the neuter of adjectives, whereas the late West-Saxon has the ending *-e* (p. 59). (9) The extremely frequent occurrence of *ðam* instead of late West-Saxon *ðan*, especially in the combination *forðam* (p. 59 f.). (10) The almost regular syncopation of *e* in the endings of the 2. and 3. pers. sing. indic. The fuller forms are characteristic of late West-Saxon (p. 60). (11) The frequent mutation of the radical vowel in the 2. and 3. pers. sing. present indic. In this particular our text agrees more closely with the older usage.

I do not add to the above Wichmann's observations (p. 55) on the occurrence of *y* and its earlier equivalents in our text, as he, himself, has made no attempt to draw an inference in favor of a more ancient date for our version from the facts of this occurrence, as these facts, indeed, do not admit of any such inference.

It is in the eleven points which have just been enumerated, as far as I can discover, that Wichmann believes he has discerned survivals of forms of the West-Saxon dialect of more ancient date in the midst of the language of the eleventh century into which the original language of the translation, as a whole, has been subsequently turned by successive scribes. Whatever opinion, however, one may hold on other grounds as to the date of the translation of the prose psalms, little force, I think, can be conceded to the observations of Wichmann which have just been presented, since, as I shall now proceed to show, every one of the peculiarities of language enumerated can be matched from MSS. of documents that had no existence before the latter half of the tenth century. The task of making good this assertion would, doubtless, be far easier if we had for the literary monuments of the later West-Saxon periods generally, full indices of forms such as are supplied for the *Blickling Homilies*, for example, in Dr. Morris' edition. In the absence, however, of such indices, I have, myself, examined with the above purpose in view two of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, namely, St. Matthew and St. Luke—St. Mark and St. John not being accessible to me at the time of writing—and the prose versions of the Benedictine Rule. The edition of St. Matthew which I have used is the Cambridge edition by Skeat—of St. Luke the recent edition by Bright (*The Gospel of St. Luke in Anglo-Saxon*, edited by James W. Bright, Oxford, 1893)—and of the Benedictine Rule Schrōer's editiōn (Grein-Wülker's *Bibliothek der Angelsāchsischen Prosa*, Band II). My citations from these works do not pretend to represent exhaustively the occurrence of the forms in question, but show all the more clearly on this account, I believe, that no inference which requires us to set the composition of our translation before the middle of the tenth century can be drawn from the linguistic peculiarities of the text which Wichmann has noted.

I shall now simply present instances of parallel occurrence from the documents mentioned with as little comment

as possible, the same order being followed as in the above enumeration.

(1) *o* instead of *a* before nasals is common in the Benedictine Rule. For example, on the first two or three pages we find *mynstermonna*, 9, 1. *monna*, 9, 23. 10, 5. *noman*, 10, 11. 11, 11. *lichoman*, 16, 22. 18, 12. (2) Unbroken *a* in *anwald* occurs frequently in Luke, e. g., 20, 2, 8, 20. 21, 27. 23, 7. (3) The preterite of *magan* occurs rarely in the Benedictine Rule. Among variants, however, at the bottom of the page I have noted *meahte* at 19, 7. 32, 2., so twice against Wichmann's three times in the Paris Psalter (prose version). (4) *e* as middle vowel instead of *i* occurs in the gospels times without number. See Luke, *menegum*, 3, 7. *menegu*, 3, 10. 5, 1. *halegum*, 1, 41, 67, 70. 4, 34. *et passim*. (5) *weoruld* for *woruld*. The word is not of frequent occurrence in the texts I am citing from, but *weoruldwilningum* is found in the Benedictine Rule at 17, 4. and I have observed no other occurrence of *weoruld* or *woruld* in or out of composition in that text. Compare, also, *weoruldwelan* Matthew, 6, 24. Luke, 16, 11. (6) Accusatives singular of feminines of the *i*-declension without the ending *-e* occur, also, in the Benedictine Rule and even later West-Saxon texts; so, *tid*, 17, 23 (variant). 72, 12, 13, 14. So *wurðmynt*, Aelfric's *Nativitas Sanctæ Mariæ*, 2. (7) The form *mistlica* is, most probably, used simply by analogy to *manega* on account of the similarity of meaning, so, only the latter is to be considered here. But even if it were true that the correct feminine plural ending, nom. and acc., of the strong adjective did not occur sporadically in genuine late West-Saxon texts, the form, *manega*, here would prove nothing, inasmuch it occurs indifferently in connection with nom. and acc. pl. of masculines, feminines and neuters in the later West-Saxon. For *manega* as acc. pl. masc. see Matthew, 3, 7., as nom. pl. masc. Matthew, 9, 10. 13, 17., as nom. pl. neuter see Paris Psalter, itself, 33, 19. 44, 15. Examples could be multiplied, as it is, perhaps, needless to say, from other texts but these are sufficient. (8) The occurrence of the old nom. acc. pl. neuter

ending of the adjective, *-u* or *-o*, might seem to have more weight than the peculiarities that have as yet been taken up, but as the ending *-u* had a strong enough hold on existence to become attached in the later West-Saxon even to the long stems to which it did not properly belong (s. Sievers, 293, n. 1), it is not surprising that we should occasionally find it added in cases where its addition would have been unobjectionable even according to the older usage. (9) That we should find *forðam* almost regularly rather than *forðan* in our text is no indication whatever of older composition. This is the form habitually employed, one may say, in the Gospels. For instance, in the Corpus MS. of St. Matthew, V, 3–10, we find *forðam* recurring eight times in as many lines, and so throughout this Gospel and St. Luke. (10) The syncopation of *e* in the ending of 2. and 3. pers. sing. indic. pres. is, likewise, the rule in the Gospels. Almost any page of the Corpus MS. of St. Matthew will offer numerous examples. For instance in a few verses of the Fifth Chapter, *awyrð*, 13, *gewit*, 18, *towyrpð*, *laerð*, 19, *segð*, 22, *brincst*, *geðencgst*, 23, *forlœt*, *genimð*, 32, *agylst*, 33, etc. (11) Mutation of the radical vowel in the same forms of the pres. indic. is, again, the rule in the Gospels, so no argument for the early composition of the prose psalms can be based on this observation. The mutation in question is found on almost every page of St. Matthew. The examples given under (10) illustrate it in part, but numberless others could be added. So, *scryt*, 6, 30. *byrð*, 7, 17. *cwyð*, 7, 21. *crœwð*, Luke, 22, 34, etc.

It will be evident from the above, I think that Wichmann's supposed indications of Early West-Saxon origin in the language of our text do not stand the test of an examination. On the other hand, it must be confessed that the style of the translation in its naïveté and awkwardness—traits which become most prominent in those portions of his work where the author has the freest hand, namely, the arguments—is certainly more nearly in the manner of the so-called Alfredian translations than in that of the Benedictine Rule, for instance.

It is, of course, possible that the characteristics of style which have been noted might have sprung from a deficient skill on the part of the translator, to whatever age he belonged, but it is hardly likely that a work of this scope should have been undertaken in the Late West-Saxon period, when an accurate knowledge of Latin had become general among the ecclesiastical orders, by a person who would have been esteemed so unlearned according to the standards of that age as the author of our translation. I know of no method by which the question which has here been raised can be brought to a decision, but as long as translations of the late ninth century exist exhibiting the same naïveté of conception, looseness of syntactical structure and clumsiness of movement as the version with which we are dealing, and none similar for the age to which the language of the text belongs, I should prefer to assign its composition to the earlier period.

An indication pointing to the same conclusion which is, perhaps, not altogether unworthy of consideration may be discovered in certain external characteristics, so to speak, of the Paris Psalter, itself. In the first place the prose and metrical versions of the psalms in this book, of course, did not originally belong together, so that the prose division must have once existed as an independent version—perhaps, still fragmentary—as the metrical division is known to have done. The versions were then brought together by a redactor who arranged each in parallel columns by the side of the corresponding Latin original—the Latin text which he thus uses being different, however, from that which formed the basis of either of the two Anglo-Saxon versions. Recognizing the source of the Anglo-Saxon prefaces to the psalms in the prose version, he inserted as rubrics to the individual psalms in his text passages from this source, running the rubrics, however, derived from the *argumenta* through the metrical version as well. That the person whose knowledge was sufficient for this recognition, or who, at any rate, was learned enough to be acquainted with the Latin commentary in question, should

have transcribed the rubrics in the corrupt and mutilated forms in which we possess them is, of course, incredible. Between the original redaction and the MS. of the Paris Psalter, as we have it, there must have stood, at least, one copyist, or considering the extent and variety of these corruptions, several copyists, I should say. It is, of course, possible that the copies which we are here forced to assume followed upon each other in tolerably quick succession, but I do not believe that this will be generally regarded as likely, and our version would thus be carried back to a period earlier by many years, or, perhaps, even decades, than the date of our MS. Still further to be considered would be the term of independent existence which the prose version, like the metrical, must have already enjoyed for some time.

In view of the above conclusions and secondarily, perhaps, of the collocation of a fragmentary version of the Psalms by William of Malmesbury with the Alfredian cycle of translations, it seems most probable that our version was executed about the same time as these translations. It must be confessed, however, that little weight can be attached to the report of a historian of more than two centuries later in a matter of this kind, where his information is not confirmed by older tradition or direct statement, as is the case with the other translations which are classed as Alfred's. But even in regard to the latter, as the most recent discussion of the Old English Bede sufficiently shows, such testimony is not to be accepted without searching examination and the result of the examination which has been applied to the version here in question has shown, I hope, that, if we, indeed, interpret the report of William of Malmesbury as referring to the fragment preserved in the Paris Psalter, his statement as to its authorship, at least, must be recognized as incorrect.[1]

[1] I have not considered in the above the external evidence regarding the date of composition of the prose version, since the only limits which are to be gained from this evidence are too wide to be of any value. The commentary of Ambrose Autpert which furnished the source of the intro-

Summary of Results.

The following is a brief summary of the results established, or believed to be established, by the preceding investigation:

1. The MS. called the Paris Psalter which contains the Anglo-Saxon version of the Psalms was most probably acquired by Jean, Duke of Berry, during his nine years' sojourn as a hostage in England after the Peace of Brétigny (1360). It was certainly in his possession in the year 1402, and was presented by him in 1406 to the canons of his foundation, the Sainte Chapelle at Bourges. It was first described by the Benedictine scholar, Dom Martène, in the *Voyage littéraire de deux Religieux Benedictins*, published in 1717. It passed in the year 1752 into the collection of the Bibliothèque du Roi (now Bibliothèque Nationale) and has remained there ever since.

2. The prose division of the Anglo-Saxon version, embracing Ps. 1–50 (Vulgate numbering) which is found in this MS. was composed most probably in the late ninth or early tenth century. That it is the work of an ecclesiastic is proved by the ample fund of allegorical interpretation which the author had at his command, as appears from a comparison of interpolations in the text with parallels from the early commentators on the Psalms. No systematic—probably, no direct—use, however, has been made of any particular commentary, except for the introductory prefaces to each of the psalms, which are paraphrases of the corresponding *argumenta* of the commentary, *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis*. The Latin rubrics which head the metrical as well as prose psalms in the Paris Psalter are drawn from the same source.

3. The Latin Commentary just mentioned, which was incorrectly ascribed to Bede by his early editors, is really the

ductions was written in the latter half of the eighth century, his death occurring in 778. This for the upward limit. The MS. of the Paris Psalter, on the other hand, belongs to the eleventh century,—so, a space of more than two hundred years.

work of the Benedictine commentator, Ambrosius Autpertus, abbot of St. Vincent near the Vulturn in Southern Italy who died in the year 778. The *argumenta* to the psalms in this work, excluding the mystical elements, were ultimately derived from the Greek commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Psalms. This is proved by a comparison with the arguments of that commentary which are preserved in the Syriac MS. Sachau, No. 215 of the Royal Library at Berlin, and published by Prof. Friedrich Baethgen in the *Zs. für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, V. The nineteen cases of divergence from the interpretation of the original Greek, observed in groups among the psalms near the beginning and the end are most probably explained by the damaged state of the MS. which the translator of the *argumenta* had access to.

4. The *argumenta* of the commentary, *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis*, were not inserted by the author of this work, but became attached to it, probably, through the accidental coincidence of his name with that of Ambrose of Milan, to whom the only portions of Theodore's writings that gained circulation in the West were universally attributed. All the circumstances relating to the *argumenta* point strongly to the existence of a Latin version of the whole of Theodore's commentary. This translation was composed, no doubt, in North Africa about the end of the sixth century and passed thence into Southern Italy at a somewhat later period.

Appendix.

So obvious is it that the Anglo-Saxon translation of the Psalms was not executed from the particular text of the Latin version which appears arranged side by side with it in the Paris Psalter that the fact revealed itself to Sir Frederic Madden for the prose portion even in the cursory examination which he seems to have given to the edition of Thorpe. I find, for instance, in his copy of this work now in my possession, at Ps. 15, 2, the query, "if the Saxon is not from

another Latin text?" and at Ps. 22, 7, the more positive expression: "The Saxon translator evidently here followed another Latin text which had *populum*, not *poculum*." The same observation was made for the metrical division of the Anglo-Saxon version by Bouterwek, *Angelsächsisches Glossar*, p. XX. In regard to the Latin text actually found in the Paris Psalter Thorpe correctly remarks (Præfatio, VI) that it approaches most nearly the version which is known as the Roman Psalter, and, indeed, I will say, is simply a variety of that version, the mixture of readings from other versions being a well known feature of the ancient Psalters (s. F. Kaulen, *Geschichte der Vulgata*, pp. 225, 229, *et passim*, Mainz, 1868). A notice of its relation to the Roman Psalter is indeed found on the back of the Paris Psalter, itself, expressed in the words which were observed first by the author of the letter-press accompanying Plate CCXXXI of Silvestre's *Paléographie Universelle*, and subsequently by Tanger, *Anglia*, VI, 126: "psalterium in ydiomate peregrino. Istud psalterium dicitur romanum, est tamen in eo ydioma barbarum." Wichmann (pp. 42–44) has already furnished for the prose division in detail the proof that the Anglo-Saxon was nót translated from its accompanying Latin text. It only remains for me to confirm by the presentation of similar evidence the observation of Bouterwek to the same effect for the metrical division. The task here is somewhat more difficult owing to the greater freedom of the metrical translation, and, also, owing to a closer correspondence between the Latin text which was used by the author of this division and the Latin text of the Paris Psalter than existed in the case of the prose portion.

My references in the following to the ancient Italic version of the Psalms and to the Gallican Psalter are according to the texts as given in *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae*, ed. P. Sabatier, Vol. II, 9–287, Rheims, 1743 (Itala from MS. Germanense Argenteum, which is now in the National Library at Paris, Par. Lat. 11947. Cf. J. Wordsworth, *Old*

Latin Biblical Texts, No. 1, Appendix I, pp. 49 f.). The Roman Psalter is cited according to the edition of Vallarsi and Maffei (Migne's reprint, *Patrologia Latina*, XXIX, 120–398).

I place the reading of the Latin text which is found in the Paris Psalter first, next the Anglo-Saxon translation and finally the reading of the Roman Psalter.

Ps. 57, 4: quæ non exaudiet vocem incantantium et venefici incantantis sapienter.
þæt heo nele gehyran heahgaldor sum, þæt snotre men singað wiþ attrum.
. . . . et veneficia quæ incantantur a sapiente.

Ps. 65, 3: Psalmum dicam nomine tuo.
eall ðeos eorðe . . . . seege geneahhie þæt þin nama is . . . . se hehsta, etc.
psalmum dicat [terra] nomini tuo.

Ps. 76, 2: et nocte coram te.
on niht for him.
et nocte coram eo.

Ps. 77, 62: Et Israel, haereditatem suam, sprevit.
and his yrfe eac eall forhogode.
haereditatem suam sprevit.

Ps. 101, 25: Filii servorum tuorum inhabitabunt ibi, et semen eorum in seculum seculi.
. . . . and heora sylfra cynn, syððan to feore, on worulda woruld, well gerehtest.
Et semen eorum in saeculum saeculi dirigetur.

Ps. 106, 38: Vexati sunt a tribulatione dolorum et dolore.
fram þære costunge . . . . sares and yfeles þe hi syððan begeat.
et vexati sunt a tribulatione malorum et dolorum.

Ps. 108, 28: Induantur qui detrahunt me apud Dominum pudore.
þe me tælnysse, teonan ætfæstan.
Induantur qui detrahunt mihi reverentiam.

Ps. 114, 4: invocabo . . . . cigde . . . . invocavi.

Ps. 115, 2: Ego dixi in excessu meo.
Swylce ic sylfa cwæð, þa me swa ðuhte on

mod-seofan.
Ego dixi in excessu mentis meae.
Ps. 117, 4: Dicant nunc qui timent Dominum.
Cweðan ealle þæt, unforcuðe, þe him onstandeð.
egsa Drihtne, forðon he ys se goda God.
Dicant nunc omnes qui timent Dominum
quoniam bonus.
Ps. 138, 17: Accipient in vanitate civitates tuas.
Wutun, þurh idel searu, ealle tiligean, þæt
we heora burh tobrecan moton.
accipient in vanitate civitates suas.
Ps. 143, 3: Subjiciens populum meum sub me.
ic hiht on ðe haebbe faeste, þæt þu me folc
mænig fægere under-þeoddest.
Subjiciens populos sub me.[1]

It is shown by the passages which have just been quoted that the Anglo-Saxon metrical translation of Ps. 51–150 is not based on the Latin text with which it stands side by side in the MS. The close correspondence, however, which, in the main, exists between the two proves that the text which was actually used was substantially the Roman Psalter, with occasional admixture of other readings. Thus the Anglo-Saxon seems to demand the following distinctively Italic readings, 76, 11., *prœter* for *sicut*, 90, 2., *in te* for *in eum*, 91, 10., *tuus* for *meus*, 118, 165., *nomen tuum* for *legem tuam*, 119, 4., *desolatoriœ* for *desolatoriis*. Similarly, distinctively Gallican readings are demanded at 103, 14., *educas* for *educat*, 118, 151, *irœ* for *mandata*.

J. Douglas Bruce.

[1] I purposely exclude the numerous examples where the Anglo-Saxon seems to demand the perfect form of a verb of the First Latin Conjugation, 3d. person singular, instead of the future, or vice versa, because the spelling *-avit* in the Old English MSS. seems to have been used regularly to represent the ending *-abit*. Hence the endings of future and perfect in the 3d. person singular were open to confusion. See H. Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*, p. 185. Not only in Old English MSS., for s. *Monitum in Psalmos*, p. 1, which introduces Sabatier's Second Volume.

LIFE.

I was born at Staunton Hill, Charlotte Co., Virginia, on December 9, 1862. After receiving my preparation for college at Pampatike Academy in King William Co., of the same State, I entered the University of Virginia in October, 1880, and three years later, that is, in June, 1883, was graduated in that institution to the degree of M. A. After pursuing the study of Chemistry two years, in the University and at Hoboken, New Jersey, I turned my attention in 1885 to the Modern Languages and Literatures. After a year of private reading, I went abroad and matriculated at the University of Berlin, in October, 1886. I was a student for three semesters in that University, attending the lectures of Professors Zupitza, Tobler, Schröder, and Paulsen. In April, 1888, I entered the University of Strassburg and studied during the summer semester of that year under Professors ten Brink, Gröber, Baumgarten, and Roehrig. In the following winter semester, whilst at the same University, I was compelled to return to America in consequence of ill-health. In October, 1889, I matriculated at the Johns Hopkins University and pursued there throughout the academic year courses under Professors Bright and Elliott. The following year I was Professor of Modern Languages in Centre College, Danville, Ky. In June, 1891, I was elected Associate in Anglo-Saxon and Middle English in Bryn Mawr College.

J. Douglas Bruce.

Form Johns Hopkins Univ
Oct. 1, 1896

INDIRECT DISCOURSE

IN

ANGLO-SAXON

DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES
OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

JOSEPH HENDREN GORRELL

PROFESSOR OF MODERN LANGUAGES IN WAKE FOREST COLLEGE

BALTIMORE
THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
1895

JOHN MURPHY & CO., PRINTERS,
BALTIMORE.

[Reprinted from the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. X, No. 3]

TO

M. G.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE.

INTRODUCTION 1

I. THE INDIRECT DECLARATIVE SENTENCE 4

The Conjunction *þæt* 4

Laws Regulating its Use:

1. In Simple Sentences 5
2. In Complex Sentences 5

Omission of *þæt:*

1. In Complex Sentences 7
2. In Simple Sentences 8

Use of *þæt* in Parratactic Constructions 9

Verbs Introducing the Indirect Declarative Sentence 11

A. Verbs of Direct Statement 11

1. Verbs of Simple Report 11
2. Verbs of Saying with the Subjective Element of Design or Volition 30

B. Verbs of Thinking, Believing, etc 43

C. Verbs of Direct Perception, and Simple Introductory Expressions 54

1. Verbs of Direct Perception 54
2. Simple Introductory Expressions 63

II. THE INDIRECT INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE 70

A. Verbs of Inquiry 70

B. Verbs of Direct Statement 73

1. Verbs of Simple Report 73
2. Verbs of Saying with the Element of Volition 81

C. Verbs of Thinking, Believing, etc 82

D. Verbs of Direct Perception 88

III. THE MOODS IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

A. The Moods in the Indirect Declarative Sentence:

1. The Subjunctive 96
2. The Indicative 101

PAGE.

B. The Moods in the Indirect Interrogative Sentence:
1. In Interrogative Clauses introduced by *Gif* or *Hwæðer*, 103
2. In Interrogative Clauses introduced by a Pronomial... 105

IV. The Use of the Auxiliaries.
Sculan..... 108
Willan..... 113
Motan and *Magan*..... 116

V. The Complex Indirect Sentence..... 117
A. The Indirect Conditional Sentence..... 118
1. After Verbs of Saying..... 119
2. After Verbs of Thinking..... 122
3. After Verbs of Perception, Happening..... 123
B. Other Complex Sentences in Indirect Discourse..... 126
1. Subordinate Clauses with the Subjunctive..... 126
2. Subordinate Clauses with Variation of Mood..... 126
a. Adjective Clauses..... 126
b. Adverbial Clauses..... 128

VI. The Order of Words in Indirect Discourse..... 128
A. The Order of Words in the Indirect Declarative Sentence... 129
B. The Order of Words in the Indirect Interrogative Sentence... 132

VII. The Infinitive Clause..... 133

VIII. Relation of Indirect to Direct Discourse..... 136
Results..... 142

INDIRECT DISCOURSE IN ANGLO-SAXON.

Introduction.

The study of Indirect Discourse in Anglo-Saxon has hitherto received comparatively little attention. We occasionally meet with discussions of this construction in grammatical studies of selected Anglo-Saxon writings. Kühn and Wohlfarht, in their treatments of the syntax of the works of Ælfric, have done little more than to mention Indirect Discourse; Nader, however, has furnished a far more satisfactory account of it as found in the *Beowulf*. Such studies are as a rule of a sketchy character and are also extremely unsatisfactory owing to the restricted field within which the work has been done.

In grammatical works of a more pretentious character, as those of Koch, Mätzner, and Fiedler and Sachs, the treatment of Indirect Discourse for the early periods of the language is of a very general nature, accompanied by few examples and no statistics, and consequently of limited value.

There are, however, syntactic studies of another kind which possess a far higher degree of merit; these treat mainly of certain constructions which play an important part in Indirect Discourse; the investigations are generally based upon ample reading and the results are satisfactory. Among these, the researches of Hotz and Fleischhauer on the *Subjunctive*, Mather on the *Conditional Sentence*, and Smith on the *Order of Words*, are worthy of special commendation. Owing, nevertheless, to the restricted syntactic limits of these studies, there is a frequent disregard for the modifying influences of many indirect constructions.

To establish definite boundaries to the range of observation I have adopted Behaghel's definition of Indirect Discourse, as given in his monograph, *Über die Entstehung der abhängigen Rede im Altdeutschen:* "Den Begriff der Indirecten Rede fasse

ich in der weitesten Ausdehnung; ich verstehe darunter jede Mittheilung der Worte oder Gedanken eines Andern, soweit sie nicht genau in derselben Form berichtet werden, wie dieser sie ausgesprochen hat oder aussprechen würde."

In brief, then, this study embraces all dependent constructions after verbs of saying; knowing and perceiving; thinking, seeming, and believing; teaching and learning; after expressions of petition and command, of permission and refusal, and of doubt and fear. I have also included dependent clauses after verbs which serve as colorless introductions to indirect statements.

The following texts have been used in the preparation of this work:—Fox's *Boethius* (*Boe.*), Grein's *Poesie* and *Prosa*, Heyne's *Beowulf* (*Beow.*), Miller's *Bede*, Morris's *Blickling Homilies* (*BH.*), Napier's *Wulfstan* (*W.*), Skeat's *Gospels* and *Lives of the Saints* (*LS.*), Sweet's *Orosius* (*Or.*) and *Pastoral Care* (*CP.*), Thorpe's *Chronicle* (*Chr.*), and *Homilies of Ælfric* (*AH.*).

The Latin texts employed are Holder's *Bede*, Migne's *Cura Pastoralis* (in *Patrologia Latina*), and Peiper's *Boethius*.

The following special treatises have been used:—

Otto Behaghel, *Die Modi im Heliand.* Paderborn, 1876.

Otto Behaghel, *Über die Entstehung der abhängigen Rede und die Ausbildung der Zeitwörter im Altdeutschen.* Paderborn, 1877.

Ernst Bernhardt, "Der Gotische Optativ." *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, VIII, 1 ff.

Delbrück und Windisch, *Syntactische Forschungen.* Halle, 1871–1879.

Fiedler und Sachs, *Wissenschaftliche Grammatik der Englischen Sprache*, II. Band. Leipzig, 1861.

W. Fleischhaner, *Über den Gebrauch des Conjunctivs in Alfreds Altenglischer Übersetzung von Gregory's Cura Pastoralis.* Erlangen, 1885.

O. Hennicke, *Der Conjunctiv im Alt-Englischen und seine Umschreibung durch Modale Hilfsverba.* Göttingen, 1878.

A. N. Henshaw, *The Syntax of the Indicative and Subjunctive Moods in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels.* Leipzig, 1894.

Gerold Hotz, *On the Use of the Subjunctive Mood in Anglo-Saxon and its further History in Early English.* Zürich, 1882.

J. Koch, *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache,* II. Band. Cassel, 1878.

Karl Krickau, *Der Accusativ mit dem Infinitiv in der Englischen Sprache.* Göttingen, 1877.

Paul Th. Kühn, *Die Syntax des Verbums in Ælfrics 'Heiligenleben.'* Leipzig, 1889.

Karl Lüttgens, *Die Alt-Englischen Hilfsverba—'Sculan' und 'Willan.'* Wismar, 1888.

E. Mätzner, *Englische Grammatik.* Berlin, 1874.

F. A. March, *Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language.* New York, 1871.

F. J. Mather, Jr., *The Conditional Sentence in Anglo-Saxon.* Munich, 1893.

E. Nader, "Tempus und Modus im Beowulf," *Anglia,* X, 556.

C. A. Smith, *The Order of Words in Anglo-Saxon Prose.* Baltimore, 1893.

J. D. Spaeth, *Die Syntax des Verbums in den ags. Gedicht 'Daniel.'* Leipzig, 1893.

E. H. Spieker, "On Direct Speech introduced by a Conjunction," *American Journal of Philology,* V, 221.

Georg Steche, *Der Syntactische Gebrauch der Conjunctionen in dem ags. Gedichte von der Genesis.* Leipzig, 1895.

Paul Wichers, *Über die Bildung der Zusammengesetzten Zeiten der Vergangenheit im Frühmittelenglischen.* Kiel, 1889.

Theodor Wohlfarht, *Die Syntax des Verbums in Ælfric's Übersetzung des Heptateuchs und des Buches Hiob.* München, 1885.

J. E. Wülfing, *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen.* Bonn, 1894.

I. The Indirect Declarative Sentence.

The Conjunction þæt.

The dependent clause in Indirect Discourse is usually introduced by the conjunction *þæt*. This conjunction was originally a demonstrative pronoun denoting the inner object of the principal sentence. Reference to a following subordinate clause by a demonstrative is a common feature in Indo-Germanic.[1] There are abundant examples of it in Anglo-Saxon; as *CP.*, 113, 10, serest him þuhte *þæt* þæt he wære unmedene; 181, 18, we magan oncnawan *þæt* þæt þa earman sint to retanne; *Or.*, 80, 28, Leoniþa *þæt* þa geascade þæt hine man swa beþridian wolde; similarly 82, 24; 148, 16; 150, 11, 33; 156, 7; *Bede*, 44, 20; 46, 12; 76, 7; 98, 5; 128, 4; 136, 13; 140, 7; 144, 21; 146, 5; 154, 33; 164, 20, 29; 188, 7, etc.; *Chr.*, 66, 23; *AH.*, I, 224, 33; *Boe.*, 136, 12; 142, 5; *Mark*, II, 8; *Luke*, I, 58; *Beow.*, 290, 535, 633, 751, 943, 1498, 1592, 1701, etc.; *LS.*, 532, 735; *W.*, 206, 28. This demonstrative came gradually to sustain the relation of the inner object of the subordinate clause and hence was naturally regarded as the common property of both clauses; the common relation thus sustained occasioned the use of this word as the readiest means of connection of the two clauses, and finally it passed over into the subordinate clause.[2]

A construction akin to the true deictic use of this demonstrative is the employment of *þæt* together with the verb "to be" to introduce an indirect statement; as *Boe.*, 182, 15, þe ic eow sæde *þæt wæs* þætte yfele men næron nauhtas; 208, 4, ic þe wolde reccan sumne rihtne racan *þæt is* þæt þa beoð gesæligran.

The general laws regulating the use of the conjunction *þæt* may be stated as follows:—

[1] *Anglia*, XI, 489.

[2] Erdmann, *Syntax der Sprache Otfrids*, I, § 97–98. See also *Z. f. d. Phil.*, VIII, 127, 289.

1. The simple dependent clause is usually preceded by *þæt*, as *CP.*, 39, 24, se þe wende *þæt* he wære ofer ealle oþere men.

When the dependent clause is itself composed of a number of coördinate clauses, *þæt* is generally found only before the first clause, as *AH.*, I, 78, 29, bebead *þæt* hi eft ne cyrdon to þam reðan cyninge Herode, ac þurh oðerne weg hine forcyrdon, and swa to heora eðele becomon. When, however, the contents of the several clauses are to be contrasted, or each one is to be distinctly emphasized, *þæt* is frequently used before each clause, as *AH.*, I, 294, 18, bebead him *þæt* hi of þære byrig Hierusalem ne gewiton, ac *þæt* hi þæm onbidedon his Fæder behates; *John*, XVII, 15, Ne bidde ic þe *þæt* þu hi nyme of middan-earde, ac *þæt* þu hi gehealde of yfele; *Or.*, 19, 32, Wulfstan sæde *þæt* he gefore of Hæðan, *þæt* he wære on Truso on syfan dagum, *þæt* þæt scip wæs ealne weg yrnende; *John*, IX, 25, an þing ic wat *þæt* ic wæs blind and *þæt* ic nu geseo; *Bede*, 242, 31, gehat geheht, *þæt* he a wolde liif in elþeodignesse lifigan and næfre to ealand hweorfan, and *þæt* æghwilce dæge alne saltere asunge, and *þæt* ælcere wucan infæste. Wulfstan employs this device very effectively to emphasize his statements, as 179, 19, is to geþencanne þæt is *þæt* hy rihtne geleafan anrædlice healdan, and *þæt* hy Godes ciricean griðjan, and *þæt* hi godcundan lareowan hyran and Godes larum fylgan, and *þæt* hi Godes þeowas symle weorðjan, and *þæt* hi oðrum mannum unriht ne beodan. In this way a true statement is often contrasted with a false one, as in *AH.*, II, 418, 17, 18. Other examples of the repetition of the conjunction may be found in *AH.*, II, 414, 5; 434, 3; 466, 3; *Boe.*, 144, 19; *BH.*, 119, 25; *Bede*, 102, 20; 212, 4.

The conjunction is also employed to mark off distinct groups of clauses, as *Boe.*, 172, 22, miht þu ongitan *þæt* þa godan bioð simle wealdende and þa yfelan næbbað nænne anweald, and *þæt* þa cræftas ne bioð næfre buton heringe ne þa unþeawas næfre ne bioð unwitodne; similarly *John*, VI, 22; XIII, 3.

2. In complex dependent sentences, where the main clause of the dependent sentence is preceded by a subordinate clause,

there are three possible positions of the conjunction:—(*a*) before the subordinate clause; (*b*) between the subordinate and main clauses; (*c*) expressed before the subordinate clause and repeated immediately before the main clause. It is not possible to state any universal usage, but the following observations may be noted:—

Position (*a*) is naturally of frequent occurrence, as *CP.*, 85, 5, tacnaþ *þæt* eall, *þæt* þæs sacerdes andgiet ðurhfaran mæge, sie ymb ðone heofonlican lufan.

There are, however, two tendencies at work against the use of position (*a*), especially when the preceding subordinate clause is adverbial: first, the objectionable juxtaposition of two conjunctions (*þæt* and the adverbial conjunction); secondly, the cumbrous construction caused by the presence of a long subordinate clause between the conjunction and the main clause of the dependent sentence. The first difficulty is occasionally avoided by expressing the subject of the dependent clause immediately after *þæt* and referring to it by the personal pronoun, as *CP.*, 389, 19, Hit is awriten *þætte* ure Hælend, þa he wæs twelfwintre, wurde beæftan his meder. But a far more frequent device is the use of position (*b*) by placing *þæt* after the subordinate clause, as *CP.*, 233, 16, ðæm æfstegum is to secganne, gif hie nyllaþ healdan wiþ ðæm æfste, *þæt* hie weorðaþ besewde; similarly 185, 25; 231, 10; 253, 8; 263, 14; 271, 10; 273, 20; 423, 30; *Or.*, 20, 19; 210, 15; *LS.*, 6, 74; 136, 311; *BH.*, 17, 1; *Bede*, 53, 21; *Chr.*, 256, C. 30; *AH.*, I, 30, 10; 48, 35; *Matt.*, XXII, 24; *Mark*, XIII, 29; *John*, IX, 22.

A third construction is, however, frequently met with; this consists in the use of *þæt* regularly before the subordinate clause and the repetition of it before the main clause; as *CP.*, 199, 16, Hit is awriten *þætte* David, þa he þone læppan forcorfenne hæfde, *þæt* he sloge on his heortan; *Bede*, 80, 24, Seo se bibead *þæt* se wer, se þe wære his wife gemenged, *þæt* he sceolde wætre aðwegan; similarly *CP.*, 143, 1; 209, 13; 220, 18; 271, 10; *AH.*, I, 40, 34; 60, 26; 174, 26; *BH.*, 99, 7;

125, 13; *Or.*, 56, 24; *Bede*, 80, 24; *Chr.*, 221, E, 14; *Boe.*, 102, 24; *Matt.*, v, 28.

Remark. In *CP.* position (*c*) is more generally employed, while (*a*) and (*b*) are of about equal occurrence; in *Or.* there is a slight preponderance of (*b*) over (*c*), and (*a*) is comparatively rare; in *BH.* there is a decided preference for position (*c*); Ælfric's writings show a greater use of position (*c*), though this only slightly preponderates over (*a*); position (*b*) is greatly in excess of the others in *Bede* and *Boe.* Wulfstan does not seem to show special fondness for any one construction, though instances of position (*b*) are most numerous. On the whole, position (*b*) is most frequently employed; it avoids, on the one hand, the lack of clearness often felt in the use of position (*a*), and, on the other, the awkward repetition of the conjunction in position (*c*).

The conjunction *þæt* is frequently omitted in Anglo-Saxon. This is to be explained in two ways, according to the character of the indirect expression.

1. Omission of the conjunction in the complex indirect sentence, in which the subordinate clause precedes. Notice has already been directed to the fact that Anglo-Saxon feeling is opposed to the excessive massing of conjunctions and adverbial particles. The establishment of position (*b*) is a result of the operation of this principle; a further step is, however, taken in the simplification of the construction, and the conjunction is omitted. The large number of examples of the omission of the conjunction after verbs of all kinds leads us to regard this usage not as mere juxtaposition of the two clauses, but as a regular variety of the indirect construction. Some examples may be noted: *BH.*, 24, 9, geðencean we eac, gif oþer nyten wære to halsigenne, þonne onfenge he hine; *CP.*, 383, 31, þæt hi geðencan, gif man swa deð, ðonne ne timbreð he us healle ac hryre; *Boe.*, 174, 24, Ic wat, gif þe æfre gewyrð, ðonne gesyhst þu, etc.; similarly *AH.*, I, 134, 13; *Bede*, 134, 18; *Beow.*, 1104; *Boe.*, 142, 13; 210, 8;

216, 20; *CP.*, 311, 14. Also without the usual *þonne: Boe.*, 20, 17, Wite þu, gif þæt þine agne welan wæron, ne mihtest þu hi forleosan; similarly *CP.*, 407, 22; *Boe.*, 204, 15. In this construction the correlative sentence with *þa*—*þa* is very frequent, as *Bede*, 162, 21, secgaþ me, *þa* Oswald bisceopes bede *þa* wæs him sended oþer biscop; similarly *Matt.*, XIII, 53; or, without the second *þa*, as *Mark*, II, 23; *Matt.*, XI, 1. It is worthy of notice that the omission of *þæt* is specially frequent after verbs of perception; in such cases, the subordinating force of the governing verb appears in general to be somewhat weak, thus favoring the omission of the connecting particle; as, after *witan*, *Bede*, 134, 18; *Boe.*, 34, 11; 174, 24; 210, 8; *ongitan*, *Boe.*, 56, 7; *geweorðan*, *Matt.*, VII, 28; XIII, 53; *Mark*, II, 23; *Luke*, I, 41; VIII, 22.

2. Omission of the conjunction in simple indirect sentences. Of this construction there are two varieties:

(*a*) The connection of the dependent sentence with the governing verb is comparatively close and the changed mood and tense indicate genuine Indirect Discourse: as *Boe.*, 82, 27, Ða getreowan freond ic secge *seo* þæt deorweorþeste þing; *Beow.*, 2940, cwæð he *wolde* on mergenne meces ecgum getan; *Bede*, 200, 25, sægde he hit *gehyde* from þæm seofon Uttan mæssepreoste; *Beow.*, 799; *LS.*, 72, 373; *Boe.*, 40, 31; 82, 27; 98, 23; 126, 14; *Dan.*, 426; *Gen.*, 276; *An.*, 1110. We may here include also such peculiar constructions as *Boe.*, 100, 10, ic wat þeah þu wene [perhaps you may think]; similarly 224, 26. In a few instances the verb of saying is thrust in as it were parenthetically, but still retains its power of changing the mood of the following verb; as *CP.*, 423, 19, sio, he cwæð, *wære* on his limum; 389, 11, sio winestre hand Godes, he cwæð, *wære* under his hæfde; similarly *Boe.*, 82, 27.

(*b*) In many cases, however, the connection between the verb of saying and the statement made is looser; the genuine direct construction prevails and we may regard the expression as mere juxtaposition; the introductory verb serves simply to

make known the person who speaks, thinks, commands,[1] etc. This construction is frequent after *wenan* and verbs of petition or command; as *AH.*, I, 378, 4, Ic wene wit sind oferswiðde; I, 446, 13, ic bidde eow blissiað on þyssere tide; *John*, XXI, 25; *Beow.*, 383, 3001; *AH.*, I, 332, 12; 434, 13; *Cr.*, 233.

The use of the conjunction *þæt* in paratactic constructions is frequent in the *Gospels* and in the writings of Ælfric; elsewhere it is rarely found. This usage in the *Gospels* is due to the Greek construction of ὁτι with the indicative, which was in turn rendered in the Latin version and subsequently in the Anglo-Saxon.[2] *Mark*, X, 32, ongann him secgan *þæt* we nu astigað to Hierusalem and mannes sunu bið geseald, etc. [cœpit illes dicere quia ascendimus in hierosolima et filius hominis traditur]; *Matt.*, VII, 23; *Luke*, VII, 16; XXII, 61; XXIV, 7; *John*, IV, 39; VI, 14; X, 36; XI, 40. In a few instances the conjunction is not found in the Latin, but is inserted in the Anglo-Saxon very probably by analogy to the frequent examples of its use in such connections; as, *e. g.*, *Matt.*, XXVII, 11, þa cwæð se hælend *þæt* þu segst [dicit ei iesus tu dicis]; similarly *Matt.*, XXIII, 16; XXVI, 64.

Ælfric shows a decided fondness for the use of this construction; as *AH.*, I, 162, 22, Crist cwæð þæt se weig is swiðe nearu and sticol; 360, 31, awrat se witega Isaias þæt he is stemn clypigendes on westene; 236, 35, swa Crist cwæð þæt nan wer ne wifað, ne wif ne ceorlað, ne bearn ne bið getymed; 174, 4, hit is awriten on þære ealdan æ þæt nan man ne sceal hine gebiddan; 166, 19; 486, 21; 510, 15; II, 246, 20; 330, 24; 394, 31; *LS.*, 386, 62; 398, 238. The reason for Ælfric's use of this construction is to be found in his effort to preserve well known scriptural quotations in their original form; it is to be noted that occurrences of this construction in his writings are almost exclusively in biblical references; the usual con-

[1] Hotz, *The Subjunctive in Anglo-Saxon*, § 4, *a*; Erdmann, *Syntax der Sprache Otfrids*, I, § 311.

[2] Mätzner, *Englische Grammatik*, III, 423; *Amer. Journal of Philology*, V, 221.

junction follows the introductory verb of saying, but, instead of weakening the force of the quotation by changing it into the indirect form, he drives home the familiar, unaltered text to the hearts of his hearers. A good example of this adherence to the letter of scripture is seen in the curious use of *and þæt* in *AH.*, I, 588, 26, and he on ær his þrowunge us foresæde *and þæt* he wolde on þriddan dæge of deaðe arisan [dicens quia oportet filium hominis tradi in manus hominum peccatorum, et crucifigi *et in die tertia resurgere*].

In this connection may be mentioned the preservation in Anglo-Saxon of the conjunction in the indirect relative sentence where the relative pronoun precedes the governing verb; in Modern English the conjunction is universally omitted; as, *e. g.*, *Boe.*, 26, 26, þe ic ær wende þæt beon sceoldon; *Gen.*, 204, 3, þara þe he wiste þæt meahte wel æghwilc on fyrd wegan fealwe linde; *Boe.*, 20, 18; 38, 4; 192, 25; 240, 13; *Bede*, 408, 16; 452, 1; *W.*, 19, 1. There are, however, sporadic instances of the omission of the conjunction in such constructions, as *Boe.*, 192, 11, þe we cweðað sie nauht.

After certain verbs, such as those of thinking and seeming, there are frequent instances of the use of the adverbial particle *swilce* instead of the usual conjunction þæt, as *LS.*, 436, 65, wearð him geðuht *swilce* heo gewurðan mihte; 518, 513, þohte *swilce* hine on niht mætte; *AH.*, II, 104, 8, þu hiwast *swilce* þu þinum cildum hit sparige; *LS.*, 448, 126; 492, 93; 538, 826; *W.*, 148, 12. In *Luke*, XVI, 1, the use of *swilce* is obviously caused by the Latin *quasi*: se wearð wið hine forwreged *swilce* he his gode forspilde [quasi dissipasset bona ipsius]. When, however, the conjunction is to be repeated the second form is taken by þæt, as *LS.*, 492, 93.

The conjunctional forms *forðon þe* and *forði þe* are occasionally found in the *Blickling Homilies*, as 235, 13, wiste *forþonþe* se halga Andreas þa slep; 243, 17, 34; 247, 3; and there are a few instances of the use of the temporal conjunction *þa*, as *AH.*, I, 400, 15, Ic geseah þa se ðegn alyhte of his create and eode togeanes þe.

Verbs Introducing the Indirect Declarative Sentence.

The discussion of the syntactical constructions in the Indirect Declarative Sentence naturally divides itself in accordance with the character of the governing verb.

A convenient division of these introductory verbs is as follows:—

A. Verbs of Direct Statement, orally or in writing. After these verbs there is considerable variation of mood.

B. Verbs of Thinking, Believing, etc. In these expressions the subjective idea is in full force and the prevailing mood is the subjunctive; sporadic instances of the indicative are found, when the reality of the statement is to be emphasized.

C. Verbs of Direct (mostly sensuous) Perception and Simple Introductory Expressions. After these the indicative is the rule.

A. Verbs of Direct Statement.

1. Verbs of Simple Report. Of this class are such verbs as *cweðan, cyðan, secgan, writan, tacnian, geswcotolian, gerecan, singan, bodian*, etc. In the indirect expression after these verbs we meet more than elsewhere the characteristic feature of Indirect Discourse in Anglo-Saxon—the use of the subjunctive as the exponent of a statement indirectly reported.

According to Mätzner [*Englische Gram.*, II, 118], "Der Conjunctiv verleiht dem Aussage-worte den Character der reflektirten Vorstellung, d. h. der Redende giebt nicht den unmittelbaren Inhalt den Vorstellung wieder, sondern er spricht das Bewusstsein der Unterscheidung seiner Vorstellung von dem Inhalte derselben aus, welchen er zum Gegenstande seiner Betrachtung macht. Der Conjunctiv giebt der Aussage lediglich diesen Ausdruck bewusster (subjectiver) Reflexion und drückt daher nicht die in der Sache liegende Möglichkeit, Ungewissheit, Zweifelhaftigkeit, oder Unwirklichkeit als solche aus." This statement applies with great

regularity to almost all expressions under this head, but we must needs adjudge it inadequate, since it does not account for the presence of many subjunctives following the most frequently occurring verbs of saying. Happily, however, Hotz [§ 34] has supplied what is lacking in Mätzner's explanation: "As mood of the indirectly reported statement the subjunctive appears in a merely formal function, that to reflect outwardly the immediate dependence of a construction made up with the contents of a direct statement,—from verbs of saying, uttering, etc. Whether the statement refer to a fact or not, whether the subject-matter be vouched for by the reporter, as regards its objective reality and truth, the subjunctive does not tell. It simply represents a statement as reported. If the speaker wishes to set off a statement in its objective truth the indicative with its sub-amplification of fact comes in. The statement then turns out to be a reported fact, whereas with the subjunctive it is report and nothing more."

With these facts in mind, we now proceed to an examination of the indirect constructions following the various verbs of this class.

Cweðan.

Cweðan is the most generally used of verbs of direct utterance and the most consistent in calling forth the subjunctive.

1. Parenthetically inserted, with no conjunction. Instances of this usage are not numerous. *CP.*, 389, 11, sio winestre hand Godes, he cwæð, *wære* under his hæfde; *BH.*, 171, 5, oðer *is*, ic cweðe, se æresta apostel. The connection with the verb of saying is here very weak and the subjunctive is by no means as frequent as elsewhere.

2. The dependent sentence is the grammatical subject of *cweðan*. *CP.*, 235, 21, is wel gecweden þætte þæt flæsclice lif *sie* ðære heortan hælo; *AH.*, I, 546, 11, Nis he nanum oðrum halgan gecweden þæt heora ænig ofer engla werod ahafen *sy*; *CP.*, 141, 2, wæs swiðe wel gecweden þæt se efsi-

gende *efsode* his heafod; 95, 23, wæs wel gecweden þætte se wer *wære* unclæne; 217, 11; 219, 9; 279, 11; 285, 11; 383, 13; 389, 16; 465, 33; *AH.*, I, 310, 2; *Or.*, 36, 12; *BH.*, 161, 20; *W.*, 93, 2.

A few indicatives are met with, as *LS.*, 18, 138, þis is þæt gecweden is, þæt God *is* æghwær eall; *AH.*, I, 322, 1, swa swa gecweden is be þam eadigan Job, þæt he *wæs* bilewite. Two reasons may be given for the use of this mood; the reference is to well-known biblical facts, and the time of writing was in the late Anglo-Saxon period when there was a decided tendency to pass over to the indicative. We should undoubtedly have found the subjunctive in the *Cura Past.*

3. The dependent sentence is the object of *cweðan*. *AH.*, I, 4, 17, se deofol cwyð þæt he sylf God *beo; LS.*, 148, 26, cwæð þæt seo dæd *nære* him geðafenlic; *CP.*, 115, 20; *AH.*, I, 94, 17; 152, 14; 184, 14; *LS.*, 34, 172; 100, 191; *Or.*, 82, 25; 174, 25; *Boe.*, 228, 10; *Beow.*, 92, etc. From these examples one can see that the subjunctive is used in a merely formal manner to denote that the content of the dependent clause is a mere report, or that truth is dependent upon the character of the speaker.

In *CP.*, 107, 18, ic cwæð þæt æghwelc monn *wære* gelice oðrum acenned, ac sio ungelicnes hira gearnung hie *tiehð* sume, we have the only clear example of the indicative after *cweðan* in the *Cura Past;* although the corresponding Latin verb is in the indicative ["variante meritorum culpa *postponit*], I attribute the anomalous use of this mood to the fact that the clause in which it is contained is separated from the governing verb by a preceding clause; hence the subordinating force of the main verb has been much weakened and the construction approaches direct narration. Similar transitions to the indicative are met with, as *Bede*, 390, 8, cwið seo boc þæt he *upastode* and *ongunne* hliapettan and in þæt tempel *eode* and aa *wæs* gongende; likewise *AH.*, II, 160, 16. Complete transition to the direct construction is occasionally found, as *AH.*, II, 96, 19, He cwæð þæt he cuðe sumne man on

Romebyrig, his nama wæs Seruulus; se læg bedryda, etc.; similarly *W.*, 233, 2; *AH.*, II, 528, 30; *Gen.*, 276.

The subjunctive is expressly used to denote a future event in past time, as *BH.*, 159, 26, wæs cweðende þæt his sæd *oferweoxe* ealle þas woruld; and especially in late Anglo-Saxon to express what is false or doubtful, as *John*, XIX, 7, he cwæð þæt he *wære* Godes sunu [false as it seemed to the speakers]; likewise in *John*, V, 18; VIII, 54.

The indicative is employed when a statement whose reality is to be emphasized is contrasted with another which is either false or doubtful, as *Boe.*, 210, 4, Ne cweðe ic na þæt þæt yfel *sien*, ac ic cweðe þæt hit *is* betere þæt mon swege þone scyldigan; 184, 22, ic nat nu þæt þu wille cweðan þæt þa godan *onginnon*—ac ic cweðe þæt hit *bringeð* simle forð.

In later Anglo-Saxon, however, the use of the indicative is more and more on the increase; as *LS.*, 34, 163, cwæð to þam wife þæt ða gewilnunga þyssere andweardan worulde *synt* swyðe swycole and þæs lichoman lustas gelome *be-þæreð* and to sarnissum *gelædað;* similarly *AH.*, I, 82, 26; 84, 26; 100, 30; 190, 33; 230, 11; 236, 8, 35; 364, 30; *W.*, 191, 3. By a comparison of these examples with *AH.*, I, 172, 11, crist cwæð þæt he *wære* middangeardes ealdor (a use of the genuine A.-S. indirect construction), it cannot be said that these indicative forms are to be explained simply on account of the objective representation of the statement, but they are in great measure due to the gradual disuse of the subjunctive in the later language.

When *cweðan* takes on the meaning "to admonish," "command," the subjunctive is freely used at all periods of the language, as *AH.*, I, 166, 13, cweð to ðisum stanum þæt hi *beon* awende to hlafum; but to make the jussive force more prominent, the usual method is to employ the periphrastic expression with *sculan*, as *CP.*, 63, 23, cwæð se uplice stemn to Moyse þæt he *sceolde beodan;* 93, 6; 95, 2, 12; 139, 11; 219, 9; 249, 25; 329, 8; 375, 3; *LS.*, 46, 358; 54, 398; 90, 13; 142, 389.

There are occasional examples of the direct statement after the conjunction, as *W.*, 210, 16, Drihten cwæð þæt six dagas *syndan* þæt eow is alefed eowre weorc on to wyrcenne; *AH.*, I, 162, 22; 236, 35; II, 394, 31.

The auxiliary *sculan* is used in the dependent sentence to express a future idea, as *CP.*, 91, 18, cwæð þæt hie *sceoldon* leasunga witgian; likewise *Bede*, 432, 28. Closely connected with this is its use as an exponent of prophecy, as *AH.*, I, 236, 23, se apostel Paulus cwæð þæt we *sceolon* arisan of deaðe; *LS.*, 510, 374; *BH.*, 167, 15. It is sometimes employed to indicate simple report, as *LS.*, 526, 613, cwæð þæt þær wære an man þe gold *sceolde* findan.

The construction with *willan* has also various applications: as an expression of promise, *CP.*, 397, 29, he cwæð þæt he *wolde* geðafian; *AH.*, II, 26, 9; 172, 9; *Gen.*, 47,—to denote volition, design, or intention, as *Beow.*, 199, cwæð he guðcyning ofer swan-rade secean *wolde;* 2940; *AH.*, II, 298, 31,—to express a future action, as *CP.*, 387, 26, he cwæð þæt hie *woldon* weorðan forlorene; *An.*, 1110; *W.*, 99, 24,—in prophecies, as *AH.*, I, 220, 6, se swica cwæð þæt he *wolde* arisan of deaðe on þam ðriddan dæge. It also serves as an exponent of customary action, as *CP.*, 243, 14, he cwæð þæt þæs Halgan Gastes lar *wille* fleon leasunga.

The use of the auxiliaries *magan* and *motan* requires no special notice; they are generally employed after *cweðan* in their normal function as periphrases of the potential subjunctive, as *CP.*, 308, 9, swelce he openlice cwæde þæt hine ne *meahte* nan scur þære hwarfulnesse astyrigean; *LS.*, 202, 130, cwæð þæt nan læce hi lacnian ne *moste.*

Cweðan is quite frequently used to render the Latin *num* and *numquid*. There are three varieties of constructions in these expressions:—

1. With *þæt* and the subjunctive, as *John*, IV, 12, *cwyst þu* þæt þu si mærra þonne ure fæder iacob? [*numquid* major es patre nostro iacob?]; similarly VII, 52; VIII, 53.

2. With *hwæðer* and the subjunctive, as *Bede*, 130, 8, *cwyst þu* hwæðer þu his monunge onfon wille? [*num* ejus saltitaria suscipere consentis?]; *Matt.*, XXVI, 25; *John*, VII, 26.

3. The most frequent construction is the omission of the conjunction and the inversion of the clause following *cweðan;* in this case *cweðan* may be regarded as having lost in great measure its force as a verb of saying and is simply used as an an introductory particle to an interrogative; as *John*, IV, 29, *cweðe ge* is he Crist? [numquid ipse es Christus?]; similarly VI, 37; VII, 31, 35, 41, 51; VIII, 22; XVIII, 17, etc.

Statistics for the constructions following *cweðan* may be found in the following table:—

	CP.	*Or.*	*Boe.*	*Bede.*	*Chr.*	*W.*	*LS.*	*AH.*	*Gosp.*	*BH.*
Ind.	1	0	4	5	0	5	18	49	12	2
Subj.	29	17	33	31	4	10	23	78	9	21
Willan.	4	2	0	5	6	3	24	31	3	1
Sculan.	18	0	3	4	2	1	21	17	0	2
Magan.	1	4	1	3	1	0	9	12	0	2
Motan.	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	1

Cyðan.

The indirect construction after *cyðan* is very different from that after the preceding verb. We must distinguish these constructions according to the two different significations of the governing verb.

1. *Cyðan*, as a verb of announcement, possesses a strong objective force; the statement is presented as a bold reality, and hence the subjunctive of simple reported statement is seldom found, and the more objective indicative takes its place.

The dependent sentence is either the subject of *cyðan*, as *Exod.*, 419, God is gecyðed þæt þu wið waldend *wære* healde; *Jud.*, 155, þæt gecyðed wearð þæt eow *ys* wuldor-blæd torhtlic toweard; *Boe.*, 42, 28; 54, 15; *Beow.*, 701,—or its object, as *CP.*, 409, 19, He cyðde þæt hit *is* se hiehsta cræft; *Beow.*,

257; *El.*, 607; *CP.*, 3, 2; *AH.*, I, 222, 16; *An.*, 700; *Jud.*, 55; *LS.*, 66, 262.

Instances of the genuine indirect construction with the subjunctive are very infrequent, as *AH.*, I, 128, 10, cyðdon þæt his sunu gesund *wære;* 468, 29, þa cydde sum man þam cyninge þæt his mæsta god Baldað *fealle*, and sticmælum *to-burste*. In these sentences *cyðan* merely chronicles a report. In *Bede*, 62, 31, þæt hie sceoldan secgan and cyðan þam biscope þæt Ongelþeod *hæfde* onfongen Cristes geleafan and þætte he to biscope gehalgod *wære*, the final idea in the sentence, the association with *secgan*, and the influence of the corresponding Latin subjunctive (*referrent*), all contribute to the employment of the subjunctive. In *LS.*, 174, 89, cydde hyre freondum þæt heo forscylgod *wære* for his Cristendome, the subjunctive expresses a future idea in past time. In *CP.*, 405, 16, gecyðde, gif we æfter þam hryre gecyrden, þæt us *wære* gero his mildsung, the subjunctive clause is the regular apodosis of the ideal condition; similarly in *Bede*, 374, 25, and *BH.*, 181, 35. In *CP.*, 213, 19, ðeah ðæm cyðe ðæt se domes dæg neah *sie*, the concessive idea pervades even the dependent clause.

A substantive is frequently connected with *cyðan*, with which the dependent clause is in apposition; as *Beow.*, 1971, Higelace wæs sið Beowulfes snude gecyðed, þæt þær lindgestealla lifigende *cwom;* likewise *Luke*, VII, 22; *John*, IV, 44; *Dan.*, 760.

2. As the expression of a wish contained in a command or admonition, *cyðan* is usually followed by the subjunctive. In this sense, *cyðan* is found in the *Cura Past.* almost exclusively in the gerundial form *to cyðanne*, as *CP.*, 189, 1, is þæm to cyðanne þæt hi hie *warenigen* ægðer ge wið þa ungemetlican blisse; 201, 18; 253, 8; 281, 23; *Matt.*, XXVIII, 10, cyðað minum broðrum þæt hig *faran* on Galileam.

Sculan is often employed in the dependent sentence after *cyðan* to express a prophecy, as *AH.*, I, 152, 17, cyddon ongean ðone blindan þæt he suwian *sceolde; W.*, 22, 5; 250, 17; *Or.*, 297; *AH.*, I, 24, 24; 202, 3. In *Chr.*, 315, E. 19,

sculan expresses mere report: hæfde gecydd þæt hit *sceolde* beon mare gyld ['that it had been more his fault'].

Willan is used in the indirect sentence to indicate a promise but also with the notion of design or intention, as *AH.*, I, 192, 22, cydde se Ælmihtiga God þæt he *wolde* mannum ahreddan; *CP.*, 353, 4; *Bede*, 46, 11. It is also employed in a future or prophetic sense, as *LS.*, 104, 240, wearð gecydd þæt þa seofon gebroðra *woldon* on þam ewearterne þrowian; *Chr.*, 278, C. 4; *AH.*, II, 482, 31.

Owing to the strong assertive force of *cyðan*, moments of contingency or possibility are seldom to be found, and hence the use of *magan* and *motan* is extremely rare.

The statistics for the constructions after *cyðan* are as follows:—

	CP.	*Or.*	*Bos.*	*Bede.*	*Chr.*	*W.*	*LS.*	*AH.*	*Gosp.*	*BH.*
Ind.	8	—	5	2	0	4	5	6	5	10
Subj.	6	—	0	4	0	5	2	5	2	1
Sculan.	0	—	0	0	1	2	1	3	0	0
Willan.	1	—	0	2	2	0	3	5	0	1
Magan.	0	—	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Motan.	0	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Secgan.

Secgan occupies an intermediate position between *cweðan* and *cyðan;* like *cweðan* it is followed mostly by the genuine indirect construction with the subjunctive, but the moment of subjectivity is by no means so strong as with the latter verb, and hence there is more extensive employment of the indicative.

The indirect sentence is the grammatical subject after the collocations, *is to secganne* and *is gesæd;* for the most part, however, it is used as the object of *secgan*.

Secgan like *cyðan* is employed with two distinct meanings—as a simple introduction to a reported statement, and as a verb

of command. The use of the indicative after *secgan* in the early writings is, I think, due in great measure to the effort to distinguish between the two meanings of this verb. It is to be noted that this mood occurs most frequently in the present tense; now, the use of *secgan* in the monitory sense is most common in the present; hence the most natural way to avoid ambiguity is to limit the employment of the subjunctive to expressions of admonition, reserving the indicative for the general expression of indirect discourse. In the preterite *secgan* rarely occurs in the jussive sense, and the regular subjunctive of indirect discourse is found with few exceptions. A few examples will illustrate this point: *CP.*, 301, 16, secgaþ ðæm upahæfenum þæt hie *afeallaþ* on þa bisene ðæs aworpnan engles; 231, 4, is to secganne þam wellwillendum mannum þæt hie *habbaþ* swa micle mede; 235, 10, is to secganne þæm æfstegum þæt heo *forleosaþ*. In the sense of command,—*CP.*, 231, 10, þæm wellwillendum is to secganne þæt hie eac *þencen* to him selfum; 215, 6, þæm unðyldigum is to secganne þæt hie ne *agimleasigen;* likewise 181, 14; 220, 24; 261, 3. In the preterite, however, the regular subjunctive of indirect statement is the rule, as *CP.*, 71, 2, hie sædon þæt hie *wæren* wiese; *Or.*, 70, 19, sædon þæt hie *hæfden* bet gewyrht; likewise *CP.*, 337, 6; 409, 20; *Or.*, 19, 32; 40, 9. This principle is quite faithfully adhered to in Alfredian prose, but in writings where *secgan* occurs seldom in the jussive sense no ambiguity could follow the use of the subjunctive; here then we have the regular construction of indirect discourse; as *AH.*, I, 100, 29, sume secgaþ þæt sum orfcyn *sy;* 364, 16, sume secgaþ þæt þu *sy* Helias.

The indicative is usually employed in universal truths; the present tense is generally found even though the governing verb be of the past; as *AH.*, II, 72, 24; 372, 1; *Boe.*, 202, 24; *W.*, 19, 2; 81, 2. The numerous instances of this mood after the first person of *secgan* indicate a tendency to preserve the speaker's own statements in as nearly the direct form as possible; as *Boe.*, 38, 7; 104, 15; 154, 23; 246, 31; W., 230,

9; *Bede*, 328, 24; 408, 16; 462, 28; 464, 31; *Matt.*, XI, 24, etc.

Remark. Hotz (§ 94) makes the following statement: "It is a fact worth notice that, when the subject-matter happens to be recorded from the Holy Scriptures, the indicative comes in with great regularity,—an eloquent testimony to prove how that book was to them the authority par excellence." This statement is made in the discussion of *secgan*, but, if true, must apply to all such indirect quotations. After a careful examination of three representative religious works (the last half of *Cura Past.*, and the first parts of *Ælfric's Hom.* and *Blick. Hom.* respectively), I present the following statistics. In *Cura Past.*, of 39 scriptural quotations in Indirect Discourse, 19 are introduced by *cweðan* and 20 by *awritan;* in these there is not a single instance of the use of the indicative. In 15 scriptural quotations in *Blick. Hom.* introduced by *awritan, cweðan,* and *secgan,* there is only one instance of the use of the indicative. In the 46 quotations in *Ælfric's Hom.*, I, the subjunctive is employed in 15, the indicative in 17, and the mood of the rest cannot be determined. Wulfstan also agrees essentially with Ælfric in this construction; with both writers the occurrences of the indicative in such instances are hardly more numerous than the ordinary use of the indicative in indirect statements in late Anglo-Saxon. Hence Hotz's statement cannot be substantiated and, when scriptural passages are indirectly quoted, the Anglo-Saxon does not depart from the ordinary construction in Indirect Discourse. When the author wishes to specially emphasize such a quotation, the paratactic construction is used. [See above.]

The subjunctive is often caused by the presence of moments of condition, concession, negation, and interrogation in the expression; as *Bede*, 374, 25, þa sægdon hie þæt him þæt *licede* and leof *wære*, gif hit his willa wære; *AH.*, II, 234, 12; *Luke*, XX, 5, 6; *W.*, 3, 3; *Matt.*, XXVII, 64. This mood is also used, when the statement is considered to be untrue, as *John*, IX, 19, is þis eower sunu þe ge secgað *wære* blind

acenned? The subjunctive is set over against an indicative, when a false or doubtful statement is contrasted with one of which the reality is beyond question; as *AH.*, I, 328, 18, ne sæde þæt halige godspel þæt se rica reafere *wære*, ac *wæs* uncystig; 364, 16; *Boe.*, 240, 26.

There are occasional instances of transition from the subjunctive to the indicative in the second or third coördinate clause of the dependent sentence; as *Or.*, 19, 24; *LS.*, 62, 202; *Boe.*, 140, 18, ic þe sæde þæt sio soðe gesælþ *wære* god and of þære soðan gesælþe *cumað* eall þa oðre god. Complete transition to direct narration is not infrequent; as *Matt.*, v, 32, Ic secge eow þæt ælc þe his wif forlet, be deð þæt heo unrihthæmeð; and se unrihthæmeð þe forlætene æfter him genimð; likewise *W.*, 222, 4; 223, 8; *AH.*, II, 372, 1.

There are sporadic occurrences of the accusative and infinitive after *secgan*, as *Bede*, 340, 19, hie sæde *heora modur* of worulde *geleoran* and mið engla þreatum *astigan* [nuntiavit Hild migrasse et ascendisse]; likewise 398, 15. This is an obvious imitation of the Latin. A somewhat similar Anglo-Saxon construction is that of the accusative object and predicative adjective; as *Or.*, 136, *þone clænan* eac sacerd soðlice sægdon *toweard;* likewise *BH.*, 165, 3.

The construction with *sculan* is found after *secgan* in the sense of command; as *Or.*, 44, 8, het secgan þæt hie *sceoldan* þæt land æt him alesan; *W.*, 300, 16,—in a future or prophetic sense, as *LS.*, 152, 79, ic secge þe þæt þu *scealt gewitan* on þam sixteoðangeare; *BH.*, 69, 18; 143, 21; *LS.*, 400, 264; 510, 374; *W.*, 19, 1; 238, 10; *AH.*, II, 298, 4,—to express duty, as *AH.*, II, 604, 22,—to indicate an unvouched-for statement; as *CP.*, 431, 15, sæde Solomon þæt man *sceolde* cweðan.

Willan is employed with a distinct idea of volition or intention; as *LS.*, 406, 372; *AH.*, II, 504, 1. In *LS.*, 174, 71, there is a special notion of futurity present: sæde þæt he *wolde* þæs ærran brydguman æþelan truwan æfre gewemman. The moment of prophecy is thus expressed in *W.*, 250, 17; and a fixed custom is described in *Bede*, 318, 14, secgað men þæt heo næfre linnum hræglum brucan *wolde*.

The statistics for the constructions after *secgan* may be thus tabulated :—

	CP.	*Or.*	*Bee.*	*Bede.*	*Chr.*	*W.*	*LS.*	*AH.*	*Gosp.*	*BH.*
Ind.....	5	5	20	11	2	23	17	38	71	10
Subj.....	15	35	38	56	6	26	22	24	31	17
Sculan..	1	4	4	0	0	11	4	10	2	4
Willan.	1	5	3	1	1	4	3	5	1	2
Magan..	0	1	8	3	0	1	5	2	1	1
Motan...	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0

Awritan.

Indirect Discourse after *awritan* agrees essentially with that after *cweðan* and *secgan*. *Awritan* is extensively used to introduce a quotation from the scriptures or from the patristic writings, and is not generally employed except in works of a homiletic character.

The indirect sentence is the grammatical subject of *awritan* in the passive; *awriten is* ('it stands written') is followed either by the present or preterite of the dependent verb; as *CP.*, 217, 11, be þam is awriten þæt betera *beo* se geðyldega wer ðonne se gielpna; 339, 3; *AH.*, I, 166, 19; *Ælfric de Vet. Test.*, 1, 23,—*AH.*, I, 136, 27, hit is awriten þæt he *cwæde* dæghwamlice; *CP.*, 195, 19; 225, 4; *Matt.*, IV, 6, etc, *Awriten wæs* requires the regular sequence of the preterite, as *CP.*, 157, 16, hit wæs awriten þæt þa heargas *wæron* atiefrede.

When the indirect sentence is the grammatical object, *awritan* is almost always used in the preterite, as *AH.*, I, 120, 9, Matheus *awrat* þæt se Hælend *niðereode* of anre dune. The dependent verb generally observes the regular sequence in the preterite, unless it expresses a universal truth, in which case the present is most commonly found, as *AH.*, I, 106, 11, se sealmsceop awrat be Criste þæt he *is* se hyrn-stan þe gefegð, etc.

In the indirect clause after *awritan* we notice the same variation of mood according to the time of composition as

was observed after *cweðan* and *oyðan;* there is a marked transition from the exclusive use of the subjunctive in *CP.* and the predominance of this mood in *Or.*, *Boe.*, and *Bede*, to the increasing frequency of indicative forms in *BH.* and *AH.*, until we meet with the employment of the latter mood alone in the *Gospels.* Compare *CP.*, 415, 14, hit is awriten þæt Dina *wære utgangende*, with *AH.*, I, 314, 3, Lucas awrat þæt se halga hyred *wæs wunigende* anmodlice, and *BH.*, 21, 33, awriten is þæt se mon ne *bið* Godes leof.

When the indirect sentence is conditional, or when *awritan* has the sense of command, the subjunctive is almost always used, as *Luke*, XX, 28, Moyses us wrat, gif hwæs broðor dead bið, þæt his broðer *nime* his wif and his broðor sæd *wæcce;* similarly *Mark*, XII, 19. This mood is noticeably frequent in scriptural quotations introduced by *awritan;* these are very common in *Cura Past.*, of less frequency elsewhere, as *Bede*, 66, 2; *BH.*, 21, 33; 27, 11.

The construction with *sculan* is used in a prophetic sense in *CP.*, 93, 6, Hit is awriten þæt he *sceolde* beon gehired his sweg [scriptum est ut audibetur sonitus]. It is frequent when the idea of command is present, as *AH.*, I, 174, 4, Hit is awriten þæt nan man ne *sceall* hine gebiddan to nanum deofolgylde; *CP.*, 403, 1. It expresses a pre-determined event in *AH.*, I, 340, 26.

Willan is used in a distinct sense of volition in *AH.*, I, 136, 24, Hit is awriten þæt fela witegan *woldan* geseon Cristes tocyme. It expresses the moment of futurity in *CP.*, 257, 25, is eac awriten þæt se wund *wolde* halian. It serves to denote a threat in *W.*, 206, 1, and describes a habit in *CP.*, 419, 26, is awriten þæt se hund *wille* etan þæt he ær aspaw and seo sugu *wille* aspirian.

Tacnian.

Tacnian sets forth the indirect statement in a more objective manner than the ordinary verb of saying, and, when thus used, is followed by the indicative. It is often, especially in

Cura Past., used as an introduction to a command or admonition and is accordingly followed either by the subjunctive or by the periphrastic expression with *sculan*.

1. The dependent verb in the indicative: *CP.*, 295, 23, þæt getacnað þætte þara lareowa tungan þonne *wundigað*; *AH.*, I, 116, 10, seo myrre getacnode þæt he *wæs* deadlic; *CP.*, 279, 25. In the expression of a universal truth the present tense is the rule in the dependent sentence, as *AH.*, I, 116, 8, þæt gold getacnode þæt he *is* soð cyning; *CP.*, 309, 8.

2. The dependent verb in the subjunctive: *CP.*, 85, 5, Tacnað þæt eall *sie* ('must be') ymb þone heofonlican lufan; 81, 22, 23; 87, 3; 249, 21.

3. The use of *sculan* in the dependent clause: *CP.*, 81, 20, þæt tacnað þæt þæs sacerdes weorc *sculon* beon asyndrod; *CP.*, 218, 6; 397, 35; 449, 19. *Sculan* emphasizes the implied idea of duty.

The headings of chapters introduced by *þæt* with no governing verb expressed may be supposed to depend upon some such verb as *taonian*. In these constructions the Anglo-Saxon writer follows mainly the rules mentioned above, but, as there is here a closer adherence to the Latin model, the language moves in a more formal channel.

1. Anglo-Saxon indicative corresponds to Latin indicative: *CP.*, VII, þætte oft þæs lareowdomes ðegnung *bið* gewilnad [quod nonnumquam prædicationis officium et nonnulli laudabiliter *oppetunt*].

2. Anglo-Saxon indicative corresponds to Latin subjunctive; here may be classed the chapter-headings in *Bede*, as X, Ðæt Pelagius unrihtlice lare *onfeng* [ut P. superba bella *susceperit*].

3. Anglo-Saxon subjunctive corresponds to Latin subjunctive; as *CP.*, I, þætte unlærede ne *dyrren* underfon lareowdom [ne venire imperiti ad magiterium *audeant*]; similarly XIX, etc.

4. Anglo-Saxon *sculan* answers to Latin *debere;* the mood of *sculan*, however, appears to vary at pleasure; as *CP.*, XX, þætte se reccere *sceal* geornlice wietan [quod scire Rector *debet*];

LXIV, þætte þa untruman mod ne *scyle* læran [quod infirmis mentibus non *debent* alta prædicari].

Indirect expressions after *tacen* and *getacnung* follow the same laws as those after *tacnian;* as *AH.*, I, 232, 13, for þære getacnunge þæt ælc cristen man *sceal* lufian his nextan; similarly *Or.*, 204, 8.

Geswcotolian.

Geswcotolian sets forth the statement in a clear, objective manner, and hence the usual mood in the dependent sentence is the indicative; as *AH.*, I, 290, 20, geswutelode God þæt he *wæs* swa geæmtogod; *Boe.*, 256, 6; *AH.*, I, 516, 26; II, 54, 11; 58, 17; 72, 7; *W.*, 99, 22.

The subjunctive is found only when ideas of negation, interrogation, futurity, and the like enter into the expression; as *AH.*, I, 328, 26, ne geswutelode ('would not have declared') þæt godspell þæt he *wære* mid purpuran geglencged; similarly *AH.*, I, 564, 22, wearð him geswutelod þæt he æt Gode *abæde.*

The construction with *sculan* is generally used in expressions of obligation; as *AH.*, I, 382, 17, Min Drihten me geswutelode þæt ic *sceolde* his fotswaðum fylian. It is also quite common in the prophetic sense; as *LS.*, 56, 89, þam wearð geswutelod þæt Basilius *sceolde* beon bisceop æfter him; 446, 97; *AH.*, I, 498, 15.

Willan is not frequently found in the dependent clause; it expresses a future action with a trace of volition, as *Matt.*, XVI, 21, he ongan swutelian his leorning-cnihtum þæt he *wolde* faran to hierusalem.

Sprecan.

Although *sprecan* is very extensively employed with the direct quotation, it is surprisingly seldom used as an introductory to indirect discourse. The true subjunctive of indirect narration is quite consistently employed in the dependent clause; as *Or.*, 48, 26, monega þeoda sprecað ymb þone cris-

tendom þæt hit nu wyrse *sie;* similarly 68, 8; *Boe.*, 200, 11; *Bede*, 296, 22. When *sprecan* is used in the sense of command, the subjunctive is of course the rule; as *CP.*, 59, 7, Hwæt is ma ymb þis to sprecanne, buton þæt he to *foo* gif he niede scyle, and se þe swylc ne sie þærto æt ne *cume;* similarly *LS.*, 450, 137.

The indicative is, however, sometimes found after *sprecan*, as *Bede*, 152, 2, spreca̋ þæt he fædera weg *was fylgende;* so *Wid.*, 107. This mood is specially common in the expression of a universal truth, as *LS.*, 10, 11, se hælend spræc þæt he *is* ordfruma.

The construction with *willan* denotes future action with, however, a strong retention of the idea of design; as *LS.*, 506, 332, spræcon þæt hi *woldon* martyrrace awritan; *Chr.*, 50, E. 1, sprecon þæt hi *wolden* an mynstre arecan Criste to love. It expresses a promise in *Byr.*, 274. The use of *willan* is very frequent after the collocation, *sprecan him betweonan.*

Rædan.

Rædan has in general two distinct meanings: (1) to read, (2) to counsel, advise. It is commonly used as an introduction to Indirect Discourse only by the later writers, and the indicative is the usual mood in the dependent clause; as *AH.*, I, 58, 9, hit is geræd þæt Crist *wear̋* to his gyftum gela̋od; *Matt.*, XII, 5, Ne rædde ge on þære æ þæt þa sacerdas *gewemma̋* þone reste-dæg?; *AH.*, I, 152, 3; 244, 15; 306, 35; 308, 10; 608, 22; II, 44, 23; 153, 18; *W.*, 146, 8.

In the sense of advice or counsel *(ge)rædan* is mostly followed by the subjunctive; as *AH.*, I, 538, 8, halige lareowas ræddon þæt seo geleaffulla gela̋ung þisne dæg Eallum Halgum to wur̋mynte *mærsige* and *freolsige; Chr.*, 272, C, 27; 297, E, 19; *AH.*, II, 356, 19; 420, 1. *Sculan* is occasionally employed to express duty imposed by the adviser, as *Chr.*, 250, C, 20, se cyning gerædde þæt man *sceolde* habban gemot. When the subject remains the same in the dependent clause, the moment of design is present and *willan* is used; as *Matt.*,

XXII, 15, ongunnon þa pharisei rædan þæt hi *woldon* þone hælend on his sprǽce befon; similarly *AH.*, I, 162, 3.

In *Chr.*, 315, E, 41, the attention is directed to the result of the advice given, and the indicative is employed: þa gerǽddon þa witan þæt man þa ælces yfeles *geswac*.

The construction of the dependent clause after the related substantive *rǽd* is similar to that above; as *Exod.*, 269, is on beteran rǽd þætte ge *gewurðien* aldor; *AH.*, I, 316, 23; 502, 24; *BH.*, 205, 12; *Ælfric de Vet. Test.*, 2, 4.

Ætiewan, owing to its strong objective force, is generally followed by the ~~indicative, as *LS.*, 128, 201, ætiewian þæt~~ he *is* þine edstaðeligend; *AH.*, I, 38, 8. In *CP.*, 241, 22, the subjunctive is used to express the falseness of the claim, he ætiewð þæt he forðsem nǽfre þæt yfel ne *ongunne*. When a command is implied *sculan* is regularly found in the dependent clause, as *CP.*, 222, 5, he ætiewde mid þæm wordum þæt we hie *sculen* milde mode lufian.

Andettan is followed by the true subjunctive of indirect discourse, as *AH.*, I, 116, 23, we ondetton þæt he soð cyning *sy;* or by the indicative after a strong affirmation, as *Bede*, 136, 16, ic openlice ondette þæt on þysse lare þæt sylfe soð *sinæð; AH.*, I, 440, 27. The auxiliaries are employed as usual, as *willan* in the sense of volition, *Bede*, 136, 21; 220, 29.

Andswarian and *Andwyrdan* are very consistently followed by the subjunctive, as *AH.*, II, 248, 22, hie ealle andwyrdon þæt he scyldig *wære* to deaðe; similarly 122, 2; 334, 33; *Bede*, 120, 13; 328, 8; 424, 13. The construction with *sculan* is used with the sense of duty, as *AH.*, I, 454, 23. Similar constructions followed the related expressions *andwyrde secgan*, *Or.*, 44, 13, and *andswaru onfon*, *Luke*, II, 26.

Began (pretend) is naturally followed by the subjunctive, as *BH.*, 181, 12, begǽð þæt he hit *wite*.

Bodian introduces a strong, emphatic statement in the indicative, as *AH.*, I, 246, 16, bodade þæt him *wæs* Godes grama onsigende.

Forleogan (belie) is followed by the construction with *sculan* in *LS.*, 396, 196, to express the falseness of the charge: forlugon Naboð þæt he *sceolde* wyrigan God.

Forsecgan (accuse) is followed by *sculan* in the same sense in *LS.*, 274, 181, he cwæð þæt sum men wære þe his wif forsæde þæt he *sceolde* hie sceandlice forligan.

Gefrege wesan is followed by the regular subjunctive of indirect discourse in *El.*, 967, wæs gefrege þæt Cristes rod fyrn foldan begræfen funden *wære*.

Gemunan, referring to a past event whose reality is unquestioned, is generally followed by the indicative; as *Boe.*, 164, 18, Ic geman þæt þu me ær *rehtest* sum wunderlic spell; similarly *CP.*, 333, 32; 397, 8; *AH.*, II, 250, 31; *Dan.*, 119; *John*, II, 22; *Luke*, XXII, 61. There are some examples, however, of the true indirect construction with the subjunctive; as *CP.*, 413, 13, swa swa he gemunde þæt hit oftor *wære* adrugod; *Dan.*, 625. When *gemunan* is used in the sense of advice ('remember to do'), the subjunctive is regularly employed in the dependent clause; as *BH.*, 73, 26, gemunon we simle þæt we þa god *don*. In *Bede*, 522, 19, there is an instance of the accus. with the infin. under the influence of the Latin: ic gemon *mec* geo *beran* þa iedlan byrðenne [me memini pondera portare].

Gielpan is followed by the usual subjunctive after expressions denoting a pretention; *W.*, 99, 18, se deofles man gealp þæt he eac swa *wære*. Similar constructions follow the noun *gielp*, *Gen.*, 25, and the phrase *to gielpworde habban*, *Or.*, 96, 29.

Licettan (pretend) is likewise followed by the subjunctive; as *Boe.*, 68, 1, þeah he ær licette þæt he uþwita *wære*.

Leogan is followed by a similar construction, whereby the falseness of the claim is indicated: *AH.*, I, 246, 2, þu lihst þæt þu God *sy*.

Onwreon is generally followed by the indicative, as *Cr.*, 95, Crist onwræh þæt *is* Evan scyld eall forpynded. With reference to a future event, either the subjunctive or the periphrastic

construction is employed: as *AH.*, I, 470, 11, onwreah se apostol þæt he biscophad *onfenge;* 480, 24.

(*ge*)*Reccan* is generally followed by the indicative; as *Boe.*, 160, 1, þu gerehtest me þæt hit *wæs* God; 176, 19; *AH.*, II, 96, 17. Instances of the subjunctive of indirect statement are, however, not infrequent; as *Boe.*, 164, 19, þu me rehtest þæt hit *wære* eall an; 182, 29, 31.

Settan is purely objective in sense and is regularly followed by the indicative; as *LS.*, 256, 308, se apostol Paulus sette on his pistole þæt we *synd* ures scyppendes gefylstan; *AH.*, I, 142, 4; 440, 25; II, 14, 6; *Gu.*, 459.

Seðan (prove) makes an emphatic statement and hence is generally followed by the indicative; as *AH.*, II, 414, 9, þa soðlice seðað þæt se *is* Hælend Crist.

Singan is followed by the subjunctive of indirect statement in *Or.*, 72, 20, swa hit sungen is þæt gind middan-eard *wære* caru.

Tellan is very consistent in requiring the subjunctive of indirect discourse, as *Bede*, 326, 30, þa tealde he þæt he hit *wære;* 374, 20; *Boe.*, 158, 12. In *BH.*, 203, 27, þa gesawon hie and tealdon þæt þær *wæs* eac syx hund manna mid þy lege anum, the use of the indicative is probably caused by the presence of the strongly objective word *geseon.*

Tæcan generally requires the subjunctive of indirect discourse; as *Boe.*, 146, 19, ic þe tæhte þætte ðæt *wære* þæt hehste god; *Exod.*, 527. The indicative is sometimes found, as *Boe.*, 198, 29, Ic mæg tæcan oþer þing hit is þæt þa yfelan *bioð* micle gesæligran, probably due to the emphatic form set off by the impersonal *hit is.* When *tæcan* is used in a monitory sense it is followed by the construction with *sculan*, as *AH.*, II, 278, 24, or by the inflected infinitive, as *AH.*, II, 216, 21.

(*ge*)*Witegian* is occasionally followed by the subjunctive expressing a future event in past time, as *AH.*, II, 42, 22, hit wæs gewitegod þæt he on þære byrig acenned *wurde.* It is mostly followed by periphrases with *sculan* or *willan* in the prophetic sense; as *BH.*, 177, 9, þæt witgodon þæt him heora

god *wolde* beodan his halgan sunu; similarly by *sculan*, *AH.*, II, 86, 6; *John*, XI, 51.

Wiðcweðan and *wiðsacan* take the usual subjunctive sequence of negative expressions; as *AH.*, I, 56, 3, ne wiðcweðe we þæt hit micel geðearf ne *sy;* 116, 16.

Word in such collocations as *to worde habban* is followed by the regular subjunctive of indirect speech; as *Or.*, 40, 7, þa hæfdon monige unwisse menn him to worde þæt sio hæte *nære* for heora synnum.

---

2. *Verbs of Saying with the subjective Element of Design or Volition.* Such verbs are *beodan*, *biddan*, and *hatan*, with their compounds; *manian*, *swerian*, *healsian*, etc.

Owing to the presence of the strongly subjective idea and the fact that the result toward which the action of the verb extends is not realized, the subjunctive is almost universally employed in the indirect sentence; occasionally the indicative is found to indicate accomplished action.

Beodan; be-, ge-, on-, for-, beodan.

These verbs, expressing in general the idea of command, refer not to an actual occurrence, but to an event which is to take place according to the will or design of the subject of governing verb; the dependent sentence contains, therefore, either the simple subjunctive or the construction with *sculan* to emphasize the necessary performance of the action.

Beodan is generally followed by the subjunctive; as *CP.*, 63, 23, þæt he sceolde beodan þæt nan man hiera cynnes ne *offrode*, ne to his þegnunga ne *come; AH.*, I, 42, 3; *LS.*, 456, 225; *Chr.*, 58, C, 40; examples are frequent in *Wulfstan*. There are occasional examples of *sculan;* as *AH.*, I, 246, 20, bead þæt æle man swa don *sceolde; AH.*, II, 372, 15. This verb is followed by the simple infinitive in *AH.*, II, 254, 16, him budon *drincan* gebitrodne windrenc, also 262, 9.

Bebeodan is the most frequently occurring of the compounds of *beodan*. The dependent sentence is quite common as subject after *is* or *wæs beboden;* more usual, however, is its function as grammatical object. The simple subjunctive is met with in the subordinate sentence; as *AH.*, I, 166, 20, englum is beboden þæt hi þe on hira handum *ahebban; LS.*, 502, 253, he bebead þæt hi swa *slepon; Or.*, 120, 5; *LS.*, 316, 128; *BH.*, 145, 31; 155, 12; *Bede*, 228, 11; *AH.*, II, 8, 10; *Dan.*, 99, 449; *Cr.*, 1500; *An.*, 729; *El.*, 710; *Boe.*, 146, 13; *Matt.*, IV, 6. The construction with *sculan* is still more frequent, the preterite referring to a specific action, the present to a general command applying to any time; as *AH.*, I, 310, 26, God bebead Moyses þæt he and ealle Israhela folc *sceoldon* offrian an lamb; 446, 23, God us bebead þæt we *sceolon* hine herian; other examples of this construction are *AH.*, I, 92, 30; 482, 11; *LS.*, 488, 28; 490, 47; *BH.*, 213, 21; *An.*, 1698; *W.*, 13, 4; 17, 12; *Gen.*, 800. It is almost exclusively used after *is* or *wæs beboden;* as *BH.*, 183, 21; *W.*, 6, 1; 283, 24; 291, 27; 304, 16; *AH.*, II, 282, 2.

The simple infinitive occasionally follows *bebeodan;* as *An.*, 774, þa se þeoden bebead þryðweorc *faran* stan stræte of stedewange and ferð *gan;* 779; *El.*, 1018. A curious use of both this construction and the subordinate clause is found in *El.*, 979, sio cwen bebead ofer eorl-mægen *aras fysan, sceoldon* Romwarena ofer heanne holm hlaford *secean*. In *AH.*, II, 296, 2, *bebeodan* is followed both by the regular indirect subjunctive and by the direct imperative: Ic þe bebeode þæt þu *gewite* of þyssere stowe and *far* to westene. In *Or.*, 262, 19, the indicative is found in the dependent clause, since attention is here directed, it seems, rather to the fulfilment of the command than to the action itself: he bebead Tituse þæt he *towearp* þæt templ on Hierusalem.

Gebeodan is generally followed by the simple subjunctive; as *Or.*, 94, 23, þa gebudon him Perse þæt hie *hæfden* III winter sibbe wið hie; 104, 14; *Dan.*, 449, etc. The construction with *willan* is occasionally used when the subject of both

clauses is the same and the intention of the speaker is made prominent; as *Or.*, 54, 21, he gebead þæm æðelinge þæt he him fylstan *wolde; Bede*, 454, 9.

Onbeodan has a precisely similar sequence to that above; as *Or.*, 208, 34, hit Scipio oftrædlice onbead þæt hie hit ne *onginnen; Or.*, 146, 30, þa onbead he him þæt he him ðæs *getygdian wolde; Bede*, 58, 5.

Forbeodan is usually followed by the subjunctive and the negative particle *ne* is generally used in the dependent clause; as *CP.*, 211, 24, we sculen him forbeodan þæt hie swa ne *don; Chr.*, 53, 38; *Mark*, III, 12; *W.*, 211, 25. The negative particle is, however, at times omitted; as *CP.*, 451, 2, þæt us on oðerre stowe forbiet þæt we hit beforan mannum *don;* 451, 5. It is to be noted that in the translations there is a general agreement of the Anglo-Saxon negative with the Latin dependent clause introduced by *ne*. There are occasional examples of the inflected infinitive after *forbeodan;* as *AH.*, I, 218, 30, circlice þeowas forbeodan *to secganne* ænig spel. The accus. and infinitive is rarely found; *Matt.*, XIX, 14, nelle ge *hig* forbeodan *cuman* to me [nolite eos prohibere ad me venire].

Biddan.

After *biddan* and its compounds the subjunctive of the dependent verb is the almost universal usage; as *LS.*, 6, 74, ic bidde þæt he wel *gerihte* and þær namare betweox ne *sette;* 188, 319, þa bebæd Constantia hi to Gode þæt he hie hira bena *gehirde; Bede*, 400, 7, þa abæd ic geornlice þætte me *wære* eac lefnes sald to ærnenne; similarly *AH.*, I, 128, 6; 166, 6; *LS.*, 106, 291.

The construction with *sculan* is rarely met with after *biddan* and serves the purpose merely of a periphrasis of the subjunctive; as *LS.*, 150, 55, hine bæd þæt he him sendan *sceolde;* 36, 211; *AH.*, I, 246, 3; *Bede*, 242, 27.

As the subject of the subordinate is always different from that of the principal clause, the occurrence of the construction

with *willan* in the former is extremely rare; when used there is generally implied a certain degree of deference to the will of the person addressed, almost equivalent to the modern phrase, 'if you please'; as *LS.*, 506, 300, we biddaþ þe, leof hlaford, þæt þu gehyran *wylle* ure word; similarly 532, 732. In *Bede*, 100, 15, bædon þæt eft oðer seonad *wære* and heo þonne *woldon gesecan*, the second subordinate clause is not dependent on *bædon* but on a verb of saying to be supplied.

The auxiliary *motan* is often found in the dependent clause, as *LS.*, 138, 335, þa bæd Tiburtius þæt he beon *moste* mid þam papan. The infinitive is very frequent after *biddan*, especially in poetry; as *LS.*, 76, 439, bæd hine ealle *warian; AH.*, II, 182, 11; *Bede*, 38, 30; *Dan.*, 542, 559; *Byr.*, 170; *An.*, 1614; *El.*, 1101. In the *Blick. Hom.* there are a few examples of the indicative after *biddan;* as 191, 13, ure bædon and lærdon Romane þæt ic *gewat* heonon onweg; here the result attained is probably emphasized.

Biddon is frequently used simply as an introductory word to a direct petition, as *LS.*, 324, 71, ic bidde þe, onfoh mine sawle; 486, 225. The direct and the indirect constructions are often interchanged at pleasure, as *Luke*, XIV, 18, ic bidde þe þæt þu me *beladie;* 19, nu bidde ic þe, *belade* me. There is also observable a ready transition to the direct imperative in the same sentence, as *AH.*, I, 334, 25, ic bidde eow þæt ge *beon* gemyndige and *doð* swa swa, etc.

The statistics for the principal constructions after *biddan* are as follows:—

	CP.	*Or.*	*Bos.*	*Bede.*	*Chr.*	*W.*	*LS.*	*AH.*	*Gosp.*	*BH.*
Subj.	4	26	6	64	11	27	77	85	36	26
Sculan.	1	0	0	2	5	0	2	7	0	0
Motan.	0	2	0	4	6	0	8	10	1	4

Remark. Wulfstan is most consistent in the use of the subjunctive after *biddan*, while Ælfric shows a tendency to the use of the periphrastic forms.

(*ge*)*Læran.*

(*ge*)*Læran* is frequently used by all Anglo-Saxon writers, especially by Wulfstan; the subjunctive is almost universally used in the dependent clause; as *CP.*, 189, 15, þa underþieddan mon sceal læran þæt hie ne *sien* genæt; *Or.*, 124, 2, he gelærde ealle Crecas þæt hie Alexander *wiðsocen; BH.*, 173, 28; *Bede*, 224, 13; *W.*, 67, 1; *Gu.*, 109; *El.*, 522. The construction with *sculan* is sometimes found, as *CP.*, 131, 3; þa þa he lærde þæt þære ciricean þegnas *sceoldon* stilnesse ðære ðenunga habban; *W.*, 68, 7.

There are a few instances of the use of the indicative in the dependent clause; special stress seems to be placed here upon the result of the advised action; as *Or.*, 148, 4, heo gelærde þone cyning þæt he hiene swa up *ahof; W.*, 9, 5, ongan he beswican and gelæran þæt se man *abræc* godes bebod; *Jul.*, 574. *Læran*, however, often has a weakened meaning, so that it signifies little more than the ordinary verb of saying and is followed by the indicative, as *Mark*, VIII, 31, þa ongann he hi læran þæt mannes sunu *gebyreð* fela þing þolian; similarly *Bede*, 372, 15, he wæs in gaste gelæred þæt he *wæs* from Dryhtne tigðe þære bene.

In *Bede*, 460, 3, the accus. and infin. is an obvious copy of the Latin. In *Bede*, 226, 26, we meet with the rare construction of the inflected infinitive: heo lærde *to healdænne* regollice lifes þeodscipe.

Hatan; be-, ge-hatan.

Hatan is usually followed by the infinitive, either alone or accompanied by a substantive, pronoun, or clause which bears to the infinitive the relation of subject or object. The use of the infinitive alone is not common, as *LS.*, 62, 195, se casere het sendan ongean þone ealdorman. When the object of the infinitive is a pronoun, the usual arrangement of words is

object-verb, as *Bede*, 34, 25, het *hine secan;* when, however, the object is a substantive or clause the order of words is most frequently reversed; as *LS.*, 42, 298, het *acwellan þone cristenan Philippum;* 30, 113; *El.*, 214.

When the subject of the infinitive is expressed, we meet with the subject-accusative construction after verbs of petition and command, a construction which is common to Anglo-Saxon, Old Saxon, and Old High German.[1] The subject of the infinitive generally precedes it, as *LS.*, 58, 214, se gerefa het *þa cnyhtas cyðan* þe þison; 64, 235; 462, 342; 488, 20; *BH.*, 217, 25; 219, 15; *Bede*, 260, 32; 266, 2; 462, 18; *W.*, 206, 14; 235, 15; *AH.*, II, 32, 22; 144, 2; 196, 19; *Gen.*, 39, 121, 145; *Cr.*, 1375; *An.*, 1575. The order, infinitive-subject, is very rare, due mostly to poetical inversions, as *Gen.*, 44, heht þa geond þæt rædlease hof *weaxan witebrogan;* 156, 2783, *Cr.*, 1025. When the infinitive has also an object the subject still retains its precedence, the object, if a pronoun, preceding the infinitive, and following it if a substantive: *AH.*, II, 86, 1, he hæt his *underþeoddan hine belifian;* 66, 12, het *hi geedstaðelian þa burh* Hierusalem; similarly *W.*, 237, 1; *AH.*, II, 134, 35; 196, 4; 246, 24; 342, 11; *Gen.*, 345; *Dan.*, 231; *Byr.*, 2. In only one instance does the subject follow the infinitive and this is obviously due to the poetic form: *Byr.*, 74, het þa hæleþa hleo *healdan* þa bricge *wigan wigheardne.*

There are also numerous instances of the subordinate sentence introduced by *þæt.* In *Or.* this construction is employed almost half the time; it is also very frequent in *Bede*, *AH.*, and *W.* The usual mood is the simple subjunctive; as *LS.*, 26, 11, het þæt he *heolde* þa romiscan gesætnysse; *Or.*, 170, 8; 204, 32; *LS.*, 406, 359; 442, 37; 464, 373; *Bede*, 254, 5; 320, 22; 388, 10; 454, 17; 462, 21; *W.*, 176, 16; 220, 12, 16; *Gen.*, 500; *An.*, 1505; *Chr.*, 230, A, 20. Occasionally the jussive sense is strengthened by the use of *sculan;* as *AH.*, I, 16, 3, het þæt heo *sceolde* forðlædan cuce nytenu; *LS.*, 200,

[1] Krickau, *Der Accus. mit dem Infin. in der Englischen Sprache*, p. 4.

92; 400, 261; *AH.*, II, 488, 25. At times the infinitive and the subordinate clause are both found in the same expression; as *W.*, 287, 23, God ne het us *gemelgjan* þa hælbendan, ac *þæt we þæm wædligendum gefultumodan;* similarly *An.*, 795; *Jul.*, 333, hateð þræce *ræran*, gif we gemete sin on mold-wege, *þæt hi usic binden and suslum swingen.* The last example is an excellent illustration of a common feature in Anglo-Saxon style, by which the unity of the construction is sacrificed for the sake of clearness.

Behatan and *Gehatan* have essentially the same meaning and differ only in relative frequency of use by different writers; the former is almost universal in *W.* and very frequent in *AH.;* the latter is preferred in *BH.* and *Bede.*

In most cases the will of the speaker is present in the action of the subordinate clause and hence the regular occurrence of the construction with *willan;* as *AH.*, I, 22, 8, þa behet God þæt he *wolde* næfre eft eall mancynn acwellan; 264, 2; *BH.*, 201, 36; *Bede*, 234, 31; 294, 23; 416, 10; *W.*, 37, 13; 75, 15; 109, 16; 144, 8; *AH.*, II, 50, 14; 176, 27; 212, 15; 224, 3; *Dan.*, 316; *Cr.*, 142; *Byr.*, 246; *Boe.*, 126, 9; *Beow.*, 2635; *Chr.*, 147, F, 10; 208, D, 20; 270, C, 2. When the subject of the dependent clause is different from the speaker, either the simple subjunctive is employed, as *Gu.*, 427, ðа þu gehete þæt þec halig gast *gescilde;* or the construction with *sculan*, as a threat, *Gu.*, 205, 542, or in a prophetic sense, *AH.*, I, 204, 17, God behet Abrahame þæt on his cynne *sceolde* beon gebletsod eal mancynn. In *Bede*, 242, 31, the simple subjunctive and the periphrastic forms are both used: gehat geheht þæt he *wolde* liif in elþeodignesse lifigan and þæt he alne saltere *asunge*, etc.

In *LS.*, 214, 79, se apostel behet þæm þe healdað clænnysse þæt hi *synd* Godes tempel, and *AH.*, I, 542, 19, he him behet þæt hi on þam miclan dome ofer twelf dom-setl *sittende beoð*, the introductory verb has little more force than the ordinary verb of saying and is followed by the indicative.

Swerian.

Swerian is followed either by the subjunctive of the dependent verb or by the construction with *willan*, since the moment of design or intention generally pervades the subordinate clause; as *Or.*, 190, 22, swor þæt him leofre *wære; W.*, 207, 12, Crist swor þæt se mon *wære* aweriged; *LS.*, 314, 97, swor þæt he mid mislicum witum hine *wolde* fordon. *Swerian* is frequently connected with its complementary object *aðas*, as *Chr.*, 142, A, 30; *Or.*, 70, 15; 162, 10; *W.*, 209, 26; *Ælfric de Novo Test.*, 18, 36. Either of the two constructions may be employed at pleasure; in *Chr.*, 114, 22, MSS. *A*, *D*, and *E* read "hem þa aðas sworon þæt hie hrædlice of his rice *faren*," while *B* and *C* have "þæt hie hrædlice of his rice *faran wolde*."

The construction with *sculan* is occasionally found in the dependent clause as the exponent of a threat, as *El.*, 685, ic þæt geswerige þæt þu *scealt* cwylmed weorðan buton þu forlæte þa leasunga; or in a prophetic sense, as *AH.*, I, 426, 6, ic swerige þæt þu *scealt* geoffrian.

Swerian is employed as a forcible means of emphasizing a simple statement and, when so used, is followed by the indicative; as *W.*, 214, 7, wit swergað þæt hit *is* soð þæt wit secgað; similarly 224, 29; 259, 7.

Closely connected both in sense and regimen with *swerian* are collocations with *að*, as *aðas sellan* (*Chr.*, 212, A, 24); *mid aðum gefæstnian* (*Chr.*, 192, B, 11); *aðas sendan* (*Chr.*, 147, F, 7); *aðum benemnan* (*Beow.*, 1098); *að syllan* (*Luke*, I, 73).

Æ wesan is an expression of command and hence is followed by the subjunctive, as *CP.*, 219, 13, is se þæt mon *hæbbe* lufe.

Æteowian, as an expression of admonition, is followed by the subjunctive, as *Luke*, III, 7, hwa ætywde eow þæt ge *fleon* from þam towerdan yrre?

Arædan, bearing reference to some contemplated action, is followed by the construction with *sculan* in *Bede*, 254, 22, aræddon þæt se abbod his latteow beon *scolde*.

Bena wesan, a poetical expression of petition is followed by the periphrasis with *motan* in *Beow.*, 364, hi benan synd þæt, hi wiþ ðe *motan* wordum wrixlan.

Beornan on mode, indicating intense desire, is followed by the subjunctive in *AH.*, I, 17, bearn me on mode þæt ic þas boc of Ledenum spræce to Engliscre spræce *awende*.

Beotian, like *gehatan*, is followed either by the subjunctive or by the construction with *willan;* as *Exile's Complaint* (*Cod. Ex.*, 442, 32), ful oft we gebeotedan þæt unc ne *gesælde* nemne deaþ ana; *BH.*, 95, 3, beotaþ he þæt he *wile* þa sawla sendan on ece wita; *Or.*, 72, 29, 30; 144, 33.

Bewerian is mostly followed by the periphrastic construction with *motan*, as *Bede*, 78, 6, ne sceal heo bewered beon þæt heo *mote* in circan gongan; 76, 17; 222, 18; seldom by the inflected infinitive, as *Bede*, 80, 7, seo æ monig þing bewereð *to etanne*. A few instances are found of the sequence with the simple infinitive, probably under Latin influence, as *Bede*, 78, 31, ne sceal him bewered beon geryne *onfon* [mysterium percipere debet *prohiberi*].

Bicnian serves as a verb of petition in *Luke*, II, 7, and is followed by the subjunctive: hi bicnodon hyra geferan þæt hi *comen*.

Bysn sellan, as an expression of counsel or command, is generally followed by the construction with *sculan*, as *AH.*, II, 230, 15, he sealde soðe bysne þæt hi *sceoldon* forswerian heora unðeawas; similarly 232, 13. A similar construction follows *bysn astellan: AH.*, II, 40, 23; *BH.*, 33, 21; and *gebysnunga settan*, *AH.*, II, 242, 27. When an actual occurrence is described, the indicative is found in the indirect sentence, as *AH.*, II, 116, 14, is geseald bysen þæt þa unsprecendan cild *beoð gehealdene* on fulluhte.

Clypian requires the subjunctive in the dependent clause; as *AH.*, I, 452, 33, utan clypian to þære Godes meder þæt

heo us to hire Bearne *geðingige;* 70, 27; 254, 17; *LS.*, 98, 150; 184, 270; 390, 114; 408, 400; 452, 169; *AH.*, II, 70, 9.

Cneow bugan, a figurative expression of petition, is followed by the subjunctive in *AH.*, 408, 18, ic bige mine cneow þæt ge *beon gewyrtrumode.*

Deman, expressing command, is followed either by the simple subjunctive, as *Bede*, 476, 24, he gedemed hæfde þætte Ceolwulf æfter him cyning *wære;* or by the periphrasis with *sculan*, as *AH.*, I, 24, 25.

Fæstnunga sellan is followed by the construction with *willan* in *LS.*, 500, 211, þa sealdon hi heom fæstnunga betweonum þæt hi ealle þis *woldon* healdian.

Forgiefan is usually followed by the periphrastic expressions with *motan* and *magan;* as *Bede*, 56, 18, þæt he him forgeafe þæt he *moste* þone wæstm heora gewinnes geseon; similarly *AH.*, II, 48, 2; *Or.*, 391; *Bede*, 84, 25; *LS.*, 346, 142, he forgeaf his apostolum þæt hi *mihton* gehælan; similarly 346, 142; 458, 282; *AH.*, II, 286, 27. It is rarely followed by the simple subjunctive, as *Jul.*, 729; or by *sculan*, *Ph.*, 377; *AH.*, II, 48, 11. Occasionally the indicative is employed, when attention is directed to the result of the action, as *Ph.*, 175, Hafað þæm treow forgiefen þæt he ana *is* beorhtast geblowen; *LS.*, 460, 297.

Gebann settan is followed by the subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 30, 1, sette geban þæt *wære* on gewritum asett eall ymbhwyrft; *LS.*, 192, 396. The construction with *motan* is also found, as *LS.*, 96, 107.

Gescrifan requires the construction with *sculan* in *El.*, 1047, wyrd gescreaf þæt he swa geleafful in woroldrice weorðan *sceolde.*

Gesettan is followed by the subjunctive in *BH.*, 193, 3, hie þæt gesetton þæt he on witnunge stowe swa lange swungen *wære;* similarly *Or.*, 30, 34. The periphrasis with *sculan* is also found, as *AH.*, I, 150, 26; *Bede*, 448, 12; *Or.*, 164, 15. Like constructions with the subjunctive follow the related

expressions, *gesettan þone canon*, *AH.*, II, 94, 29, and *stent gesetnys*, *AH.*, II, 50, 20.

Gesprecan and *Gestihtian*, denoting agreement or determination, require the strengthened construction with *willan;* as *Or.*, 138, 3, hi him betweoxum gesprœcon þæt hi *woldon* on Romane winnan; 264, 19; *Bede*, 112, 33, gestihtedon þæt heo *woldon* þære wisan ende gebidan.

Getemian (permit) is followed by *sculan* in *LS.*, 538, 809, þu ne mihtest getemian þæt mire andetnysse leoht-fæt *sceolde* acwyncan.

Geþafian is followed most consistently by the subjunctive; as *BH.*, 45, 11, þæt hie ne geþafien þæt hi heora lif on woh *lifgean;* *AH.*, I, 168, 6; *LS.*, 324, 72; 348, 169; 376, 179; *Bede*, 374, 5; *W.*, 22, 19; *AH.*, II, 40, 34; *An.*, 402. Occasionally, however, auxiliary constructions are found, with *motan:* *W.*, 85, 17; 96, 15; with *sculan:* *AH.*, II, 234, 27; 508, 25.

Geunnan is generally followed by the construction with *motan;* as *Beow*, 961, uðe ic swiðor þæt þu hine sylfne geseon *moste;* *W.*, 142, 23; 181, 32; 289, 24; *AH.*, II, 128, 10; 152, 18; *Gu.*, 902; *Byr.*, 175. The subjunctive is also met with; as *Chr.*, 219, D, 19, God him geunne þæt his goddæda swyðran *weorðen;* 217, D, 16. Occasionally the indicative is found in the dependent sentence expressing the resulting state; as *Beow.*, 1662, me geuðe yldra waldend þæt ic on wæge *geseah* wlitig hangian eald sweord-eacen; *AH.*, II, 594, 15; *Beow.*, 2875.

Gyrnan, expressing intense desire, is followed by the simple subjunctive, as *Ph.*, 462, glædmod gyrneð þæt he godra mæst dæda *gefremme;* *Matt.*, XXIII, 8; *Luke*, XXII, 31,—or by the periphrasis with *motan:* *AH.*, I, 142, 23, ne gyrnde na þæt he *moste* Crist gehyran sprecan; similarly *Chr.*, 53, E, 7; 317, F, 20,—or by that with *sculan:* *Chr.*, 92, E, 19, he geornde æt se kyning þæt he *scolde* from his mynstre; 52, E, 41; 53, E, 31.

Hœs requires *sculan* in the dependent clause in *AH.*, I, 402, 23, him com to Godes hæs þæt hi *sceolden* from stowe faran.

Healsian is very consistently followed by the subjunctive; as *CP.*, 137, 17, ic eow halsige þæt ge *feden* Godes heorde; *Or.*, 178, 14; *LS.*, 148, 24; *AH.*, I, 422, 20; 426, 31; *BH.*, 189, 7; *Bede*, 372, 7; *Gu.*, 1176; *AH.*, II, 248, 17; 490, 30; *Or.*, 23. There are occasional examples of the periphrasis with *sculan*, as *AH.*, II, 146, 12. *Healsian*, like *biddan*, serves as an introductory to a direct petition, as *Descent into Hell*, 118, ic halsige þe, oferwurpe mid þy wætre ealle burgwaran.

Hryman, as a verb of petition, is followed by the subjunctive; as *AH.*, I, 156, 22, we sceolon hryman to þæm hælende þæt he *todræfe* þa yfelan costnunga from urum heortum.

Læran and *Laðian*, expressing incitement to an action, are followed by the subjunctive, as *Bede*, 44, 18, lærdon þæt hi fæsten *worhten;* 44, 34; *Jul.*, 149; *Ælfric de Novo Test.*, 21, 29, þu woldest me laðian þæt ic swiðe *drunce.*

Lyfan. The indirect sentence is often used as the logical subject introduced by *hit is* or *wæs alyfed;* as *AH.*, I, 142, 6; 522, 12. Elsewhere it is the object of *lyfan.* The simple subjunctive is very frequent in the dependent clause; as *Matt.*, XXII, 17, is hit alyfed þæt man casere gafol *sylle?; Mark*, X, 4; *John*, V, 10; *BH.*, 189, 22; *W.*, 285, 28; *AH.*, II, 94, 25; 100, 13. There is, however, a great fondness for the use of the periphrasis with *motan;* as *Gen.*, 2518, lyfað me þæt we aldornesse on sigor up secan *moten; Ph.*, 667; *Bede*, 400, 2; *W.*, 218, 17; 285, 5; *AH.*, II, 216, 11; *Gu.*, 380. There are sporadic instances of the inflected infinitive; as *AH.*, II, 348, 24, is alyfed to lybbenne; 520, 16. Similar constructions follow the related expressions, *leafnesse syllan*, *Bede*, 60, 14; 460, 25; and *lyfnesse forgyfan*, *Bede*, 328, 34.

Manian is almost without exception followed by the subjunctive. In the *Cura Past.* it occurs seldom except in the form *is to manianne*, employed very frequently as an introductory expression to the chapters on duties; as 191, 12, eac sint to manianne þa underþioddan þæt hie huru hie selfe *gehealden; W.*, 225, 13, þonne manaþ us þis halige gewrit þæt we simle *sion* gemynegode; similarly *LS.*, 496, 146; *Seaf.*,

36; *Bede*, 210, 15. In *Seaf.*, 50, we note the rare sequence with the infinitive: gemonaþ modes fusne *feran* to siðe. The related noun *monung* is likewise followed by the subjunctive, as *Bede*, 350, 1.

Mynegian regularly requires the subjunctive in the dependent sentence; as *AH.*, I, 56, 20, þa yfelan we mynegiaþ þæt hi from heora yfelnessum hrædlice *gecyrren;* 88, 22; 262, 12; *W.*, 171, 16; *AH.*, II, 492, 18. When the verb refers to an actual occurrence with the meaning 'to mention,' it is followed by the indicative, as *Bede*, 44, 7, þe we gemynegode þæt Severus *het* þwyrs gedician.

Myntan is followed by the subjunctive, as *Gen.*, 2182, fæste mynteð þæt me æfter *sie* eaforan sine grefeweardas; or by the simple infinitive, as *Cr.*, 1058, se ðe gode mynteð *bringan* beorhtne wlite.

Neadian (urge) is followed by the construction with *sculan* in *Bede*, 262, 1, nedde him þæt he ridan *sceolde.*

Onbærnan (encourage) requires the usual subjunctive; *Bede*, 146, 10, wæs onbærnende þæt heo in þæm geleafan soðfæstnisse fæstlice *astoden.*

Tæcan, in its admonitory sense, is followed by the subjunctive, as *AH.*, II, 68, 2; or by the construction with *sculan*, as *AH.*, I, 372, 31.

Tiċan is generally followed by the subjunctive, as *LS.*, 98, 130, ic þe tihte þæt þu þam godum *geoffrige;* 134, 294; 162, 249; 204, 149. Occasionally the periphrasis with *sculan* is found, as *LS.*, 144, 435.

Tiþian with the subjunctive: *AH.*, II, 600, 1, getyða us þæt se ylca wisdom ure heortan ma *onbryde;* 172, 33; *LS.*, 444, 40, 66. Occasionally followed by *motan*, as *AH.*, II, 600, 7. In *LS.*, 298, 204, the subjects of both clauses are the same and *willan* is used: him tiðode God þæt he *wolde* hi fordon.

Geþingian, regularly with the subjunctive, as *Cr.*, 342, geþinga us þæt he us ne *læte.*

Warnian, expressing in general advice against a certain course of action, is followed by the subjunctive, as *LS.*, 160, 211, het hine warnian þæt ne *nære* on þam mynstre nefre eft gesewen; 184, 255; *AH.*, I, 120, 16; II, 34, 33; 536, 5; 602, 24; *Gen.*, 527. When the indirect expression simply relates the danger against which the advice is directed, the indicative is used, as *Chr.*, 262, C, 24, þa gewarnode man þæt þær *wæs* fyrd gegaderod æt Sundene.

Wedd, as an expression of command, requires the subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 90, 28, þis is min wedd þæt ælc hyse-cild *bco ymb-sniden*. *To wedde syllan*, as a promise, is followed by *willan*, as *Bede*, 124, 4.

Wyscan is followed by the subjunctive, as *Deor.*, 25, wyscte þæt þæs cyneriices ofercumen *wære;* or by *sculan*, as *AH.*, II, 310, 4.

B. Verbs of Thinking, Believing, etc.

In this class are included verbs that express simple supposition, as *wenan*, *þencan*, *þyncan;* those that express thought directed to the accomplishment of an action, as *smeagan* and *hogian;* verbs of belief or trust, as *geliefan*, *truwian;* of doubt, uncertainty, and the like, as *tweogan*, *hopian*, etc. In these expressions the moment of subjectivity is always present in full force, and the subjunctive or its equivalent is regularly found.

Wenan.

Of all verbs introducing Indirect Discourse *wenan* is the most consistent in requiring the subjunctive of the dependent verb. I attribute this to the fact, that in these expressions the event or action contained in the dependent clause is not considered to take place at all, and its existence is merely a conjecture in the mind of the speaker or writer; it is conceived, therefore, from a wholly subjective view-point and is

expressed by the ordinary mood of subjective conception—the subjunctive. *CP.*, 209, 10, hie wenað þæt þæt *sie* þæt beste; *AH.*, I, 124, 14, sume men wenað þæt him *genihtsumige* to fulfremedum læcedome; *Or.*, 150, 26, þa wende man þæt þæt gewinn geended *wære*.

There are occasional examples of the use of the indicative, and it is a matter of some difficulty to explain these few anomalous constructions as opposed to the vast array of subjunctive forms. The most plausible explanation of these forms is as follows: accepting the subjunctive as the mood of subjective reflection, it is at least supposable that the reality of the event conceived would be more emphasized when this conception is in the mind of the speaker himself or of the person directly addressed, than when reference is made to the thought of a third person; hence, if the moment of objectivity enter at all, we should expect it to be present when *wenan* is used in the first or the second person; and, in truth, it is only after these forms that the indicative is found in the dependent sentence. Furthermore, owing to the frequency of their employment, *ic wene* and *wenst þu* (or *wenstu*) have apparently suffered a weakening of their original signification. Some examples may be given; as *AH.*, I, 580, 26, ic wene þæt þas word ne *sind* eów full cuðe; 378, 4, ic wene wit *sind* oferswiðde; here the omission of the conjunction and consequent breaking of connection favors the use of the indicative; *Boe.*, 146, 29, wenst þu nu þætte ealle þa þing for ði gode *sind* þy hi habbað; 16, 27, gif þu wenst þæt þære eorðan wæstmas þine *synd; AH.*, I, 396, 5, wenst þu þæt hi *beoð* asyndrode from þam dome?. The distinction given above is well illustrated by the following example in *Boe.*, 86, 9, wenst þu þæt þa dysiende *wenað* þætte þæt þing *sie* ælces weorðscipes betst wyrðe? In *Boe.*, 44, 15, ic wat þæt ge wenað þæt ge nan god ne gesælþa *habbað*, the presence of *witan* probably contributes to the use of the indicative.

For the most part, however, *wenan* in these persons retains its usual sequence of the subjunctive, as *CP.*, 459, 10, hwa

wenstu þæt *sie* to þæm getreow?; *AH.*, I, 424, 29; *Or.*, 58, 28. Indeed, the requirement of the subjunctive by *wenan* is so strong that even in close renderings of a Latin original, the indicative in the Latin has no effect upon the Anglo-Saxon mood, as *John*, XIII, 29, wendon þæt se hælend hit *cwæde* be him [putabant quia *dicit* ei iesus].

Owing to the almost universal employment of the subjunctive, the auxiliaries *sculan* and *willan* seem to make a near approach to the expression of the future idea after *wenan*. The sense of duty or obligation is, however, still present in *sculan*, as *Ælfric de Novo Test.*, 17, 11, wende þæt he *sceolde* þurhwunian on gastlicum þeawum; *BH.*, 183, 31, wenstu þæt ic *sceole* sprecan to þissum men?; *CP.*, 281, 14, hwylc wite wene we þæt se fela sprecea *scyle* habban? Determined future action is thus expressed in *W.*, 244, 1. As usual after verbs of thinking, it denotes the result of the efforts of the designer [Lüttgens, p. 19], as *Or.*, 244, 11, þæt he sume hwile wende þæt hine mon *gefon sceolde;* 112, 10; 160, 29; 190, 4; *AH.*, I, 594, 10.

The future idea is much more truly expressed by *willan*, as *AH.*, I, 480, 1, wende þæt hi *woldon* his cynedom forseon; *CP.*, 201, 1, swelce he wene þæt his hlaford deman *wolde;* *Or.*, 196, 6; *AH.*, I, 334, 17; II, 582, 24; *LS.*, 426, 181; *Chr.*, 278, C, 10; 300, C, 17. In such cases as *CP.*, 113, 25, hu micele wenstu þæt hit *wolde* gif þær wlence and se anweald wære gemenged, *willan* gives a more distinct expression to the action indicated than would be done by the simple verb [Lüttgens, p. 25].

The omission of the conjunction after *wenan* does not as a rule affect the verb of the indirect clause: *Boe.*, 98, 23, wenst þu *mæge* his rice hine þær on lande wyrðne gedon?; similarly 40, 31; *John*, XXI, 25; *BH.*, 85, 16.

There are sporadic instances of the A.-S. subject-accusative construction after *wenan*, as *AH.*, I, 590, 25, þæt þu wenst *me* for tintregum ða *geopenian* ða godcundan gerynu; *Beow.*, 933, þæt ic ænigra *me* weana ne wende *gebidan;* *Bede*, 430,

24. The simple infinitive also occurs in *Beow.*, 2240, wende þæs *yldan.*

The constructions after *wenan* are thus tabulated:—

	CP.	*Or.*	*Bos.*	*Beda.*	*Chr.*	*BH.*	*LS.*	*AH.*	*W.*	*Gosp.*
Subj.....	58	11	20	1	1	8	10	22	8	10
Ind.....	0	0	4	3	0	1	0	4	1	0
Sculan.....	4	4	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	1
Willan.....	2	10	3	4	3	3	4	5	0	0

The related substantive *wen* is precisely similar, in the constructions that follow it; together with the verb "to be" it has the general meaning of 'perhaps' [Latin *forsitan*, see *John*, VIII, 19]: *AH.*, I, 580, 5, wen is þæt eower sum *cweðe* to him sylfum; similarly *CP.*, 93, 19; *BH.*, 231, 23; 243, 19; *Bede*, 408, 26; 414, 18; *Beow.*, 1846; *W.*, 140, 14; *LS.*, 376, 187.

Gelyfan.

The indirect sentence after *gelyfan* displays a marked variation in mood. All shades of expression seem present in this verb, from the pure subjectivity of mere conjecture to the objective statement of a universal truth. There is, therefore, observable a great diversity in the constructions following it, and, what is more, these constructions vary to a considerable extent with the writer.

In *Cura Past.* there is a steady adherence to the subjunctive, as 111, 11, he gelief'ð þæt he *sie* swelc; 379, 10, etc. In the one example of the use of the indicative the statement is set forth in a strong, objective manner: 413, 32, hie sint to manianne þæt hie gelefen and baldlice getruwien þæt hi ða forgiefnesse *habbað* for þære hreowsunge. Ælfric, on the other hand, employs the indicative quite frequently in the subordinate clause, and it is well-nigh impossible to draw any hard and fast lines of distinction between the moods; the use of the indicative appears to be occasioned simply by the desire of the

writer to set forth one statement more objectively than another, as will be seen by comparing the two following examples: *AH.*, I, 214, 12, we gelyfaþ þæt we *beon* gehealdene þurh Cristes gife, and 292, 25, we sceolon gelyfan þæt ælces mannes sawul *biþ* þurh God gesceapen. Variation in mood is often found after the same introductory word, as *AH.*, I, 284, 15, swa þæt he secge oððe gelyfe þæt twy Godas *syndon* oððe ænig had on þære halgan þrynnysse *sy* unmihtigra þonne oðer.

The following observations may, however, be accepted as indicating the chief distinctions in the use of moods after *gelyfan*. The subjunctive finds its proper place in expressions of a purely subjective character, as in the following pious confession, *El.*, 795, ic gelyfe þe sel þæt he *sie* sawla nergeridi; it is found when the statement contains the moment of uncertainty, either in past or in present time, as *AH.*, I, 226, 19, gelyfdon hi þæt he oferswiðed *wære;* 344, 1, we gelyfaþ þæt of mancynne swa micel getel *astige* swa; it is very frequent also when a negative or conditional idea is present in the expression or when an indefinite future action is implied, as *BH.*, 153, 18, ne gelyfeð on Hælend Crist þæt he *sy* Godes Sunu; likewise *LS.*, 458, 275; *BH.*, 37, 16; *Cr.*, 656, 753; *John*, IX, 18; *Bede*, 396, 24, cwæð þæt he gelefde þæt gif he his handa hiene on sette, þætte him sona wel *wære;* similarly *AH.*, I, 590, 27; *BH.*, 151, 29; *W.*, 220, 2; *Bede*, 392, 10, gelefde þæt hire sona wel *wære; Dan.*, 447, 578. It is sometimes due to a certain assumption made in the statement, as *Chr.*, 294, C, 11, nu is to gelyfenne þæt hi *blissien* bliðe mid Criste þe wæron buton scylde acwealde. It is found also after a final clause, as *John*, VI, 30, and when the content of the subordinate clause is supposed to be false, as *John*, IX, 18.

The indicative is quite regularly employed when mention is made of the established doctrines of religious belief, as *AH.*, I, 26, 8, þæt men mihton gelyfan þæt he *wæs* Godes Bearn; 198, 14; 228, 20; 230, 8; 234, 29; II, 422, 16; 426, 16. A very effective use is made of this distinction in mood in the following example: Ælfric [*Hom.*, I, 116, 15, 24] is contrasting the

doctrines of heretics with those of orthodox christians; in the former case the subjunctive is used, in the latter the indicative, sume gedwolmen gelyfdon þæt he God *wære*, gelyfdon þæt he soð cyning *wære* . . . we gelyfdon þæt he æfre God *wæs*, we gelyfdon þæt he *wæs* deadlic. The indicative is used to express an actual fact, as *AH.*, II, 366, 28, hig gelyfdon þæt þu me *sendest;* 204, 33; *Matt.*, IX, 28; *John*, X, 38; XI, 27, 42; XIV, 10; XVI, 27; XVII, 8, etc. I attribute the great use of this mood in the *Gospels* partially to the influence of the Latin, as *Mark*, XI, 24, gelyfað þæt ge hit *onfoð* [credite quia *accipietis*].

The construction with *sculan* is employed with reference to an event sure of fulfillment in the future, as *AH.*, I, 294, 1, we sceolon gelyfan þæt ælc lichama *sceal arisan; W.*, 126, 18, 20.

Willan is used with a personal subject and approaches very near the simple future expression, as *An.*, 1285, ic gelyfe to þe þæt þu me næfre *wille* anforlætan; similarly *CP.*, 5, 2; *LS.*, 454, 218.

The allied adjective *geleaflic* is generally followed by the subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 446, 3, is geleaflic þæt seo eadige owen oðre *oferstige;* likewise 518, 3.

Þencan and *Geþencan.*

As an introductory verb of indirect discourse *þencan* has in general two distinct meanings: (1) it expresses intent or design with also the element of volition; (2) 'to remember,' 'to recount.'

1. With the former meaning (that most frequently met with) the simple subjunctive is generally employed in the dependent clause, as *CP.*, 235, 9, þohte þæt he hine *ofsloge; Or.*, 92, 22; 188, 13; *Matt.*, VI, 27; *W.*, 284, 10; *CP.*, 119, 3. The idea of design is emphasized by the use of the auxiliary *willan*, as *AH.*, I, 196, 16, þohte þæt he *wolde* hi diglice forlætan; *John*, XI, 53.

The force of *þencan* is, however, at times much weakened, the idea of design is almost entirely eliminated, and the verb

conveys little more meaning than would be given by *wenan;* in these cases, *sculan* is generally used in the subordinate clause, expressing the fact that the contents of the subordinate clause are in subjective dependence [Lüttgens, p. 19]; as *CP.*, 55, 19, he þinceð þæt he *sciele* monig god weorc ðæron wyrcan; *Or.*, 166, 29; 200, 10; 216, 15; *Beow.*, 692, nænig heora þohte þæt he þanon *sceolde* eft eardlufan æfre gesecean. This is a near approach to the simple future.

The simple infinitive is occasionally found after *þencan;* as *Jud.*, 58, þohte þa beorhtan idese mid widle and mid womme *besmitan;* likewise *El.*, 297.

2. With reference to a past event *þencan* means 'to remember;' as applied to a present action, it may also be rendered 'to bear in mind, consider.' The mood of the dependent verb is the indicative, as *CP.*, 53, 17, is to geþencenne þæt he *underfeng* martyrdom; *Matt.*, v, 23, þu þær geðencest þæt þinbroðor *hæfð* ænig þing agen þe; *CP.*, 55, 20; *Deor.*, 31; *W.*, 246, 7; 291, 14; *Boe.*, 62, 27. The subjunctive in *Boe.*, 134, 20, is owing to the occurrence of the verb in the protasis of an ideal condition. The transition to direct expression is easy and is occasionally found, as *BH.*, 51, 17, hurn ne magon we geðencan þæt seo eorðe *is* Godes and Godes *is* þæt yrfe, and we ealle *syndon* his, etc.

Beþencan has generally the meaning 'to remember, consider,' and hence is followed by the indicative, as *Cr.*, 821, scyle gehwilc beþencan þæt us milde *becwom* meahta waldend æt ærestan. The moment of design is occasionally present, and the subjunctive is used, as, *Nicod.*, 20 (*B–T.*), hig beþohton þæt hig hym seofon weras *gecuron; Jul.*, 155.

þyncan.

The reality of the statement introduced by *þyncan* is dependent only upon the opinion of the object of *þyncan;* hence the verb of the dependent clause is usually in the subjunctive, as *Gen.*, 169, ne þuhte þa gerysne rodora wearde þæt Adam leng

swa *wære; CP.*, 85, 26, oðrum monnum þyncð þæt hie mæste scande *ðrowigen;* 113, 10; 115, 19; 203, 14, 20; 231, 20; 241, 4; 285, 4; 293, 6; 321, 24; 415, 31, 34; *Or.*, 246, 25; *AH.*, I, 236, 11; II, 160, 18; *Bede*, 430, 12; *W.*, 49, 7; 79, 11; 184, 18; *Dan.*, 498, 505; *Boe.*, 66, 2; 72, 18; 96, 29; 202, 18; *Matt.*, XXV, 29; *John*, VIII, 53.

There is the usual occurrence in the dependent clause of the modal auxiliaries with the exception of *willan;* as *Or.*, 84, 12, se þe him ær geþuhte þæt him nan sæ wiðhabban ne *mehte;* 98, 2; 118, 17; *CP.*, 57, 6, swa þincð him þæt he hie him niedscylde *sceolde* se þe hie him sealde. The mood of these auxiliaries varies, as *Boe.*, 76, 13, þæt me nu þincð þæt no þæt an þas onwyrð aræfnan *mæg;* 124, 4, him þincð þæt he ne *mæge* ðone welan gehealdan.

There are a few instances of the indicative in the dependent clause; in most cases the truth of the statement thus made is regarded as beyond doubt, and the usual subjective signification of *þincan* is decidedly weakened; as *Ælfric's Pref. Gen.*, 22, 8, nu þincð me þæt þæt weorc *is* swiðe pleolic me oððe ænigum men to underbeginenne. The greater or less degree of reality probably causes the difference in mood in the two following almost contiguous passages: *Boe.*, 164, 12, me þincð þæt þu me *dwelige* and *dyserie*,—16, me þincð þæt þu me *hwurfest* sum sunderlice spræce. The indicative is also found occasionally in a dependent clause which is separated from *þyncan* by a preceding clause, as *CP.*, 85, 26, oðrum monnum ðyncð þæt hie mæstne demm *ðrowigen* and hie forswencte *bioð* for worulde; similarly *AH.*, I, 48, 35.

Swelce is occasionally employed instead of the usual *þæt*, as *LS.*, 304, 300, þincð him arleasum *swylce* hi æfre motan libban; *W.*, 148, 12; *LS.*, 436, 65.

Gyman, expressing designed action, is followed by the subjunctive, as *Bede*, 346, 16, eornestlice gemde þæt he men from heora synnum *atuge; AH.*, II, 34, 32.

Gehihtan (to hope), with the subjunctive, as *Bede*, 404, 22, wæs gehihtende þæt he his lichamon *tolesed wære.*

Gehogian has the regular sequence with the subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 484, 6, we sceolon hogian þæt we simle ðone maran gylt *forfleon;* 528, 4; *Gen.*, 2892; *Dan.*, 218; *Beow.*, 633; *AH.*, II, 558, 18. *Willan* is sometimes found when the personal intention is prominently set forth, as *Dan.*, 687, þæt gehogode Meda aldor þæt he Babilone abrecan *wolde; Bede*, 234, 25.

Hopian has a like construction, as *Luke*, XXIII, 8, he hopede þæt he *gesawe* sum tacen; *AH.*, II, 416, 14; *Luke*, XXIV, 21. There is liberal use made of the auxiliary forms, especially *willan*, as *LS.*, 314, 111, ic hopige on Drihten þæt he me ungederodne *wylle* ahreddan. *Sculan* as almost simple representative of the subjunctive but with a future force, as *W.*, 152, 20, hopode þæt heo gehyran *sceolde* hyre suna stemne. *Motan* is also met with, as *W.*, 147, 23.—The related noun, *tohopa*, has a similar regimen, as *Or.*, 104, 28, to þam tohopan þæt hie sume siðe God þanon *adoo* to heora agnum lande; *AH.*, I, 568, 8.

Hycgan is very consistently followed by the subjunctive, as *Gen.*, 397, We þæs sculon hycgan þæt we on Adame sume andan *gebetan*. Likewise *ahycgan*, *Gen.*, 2031, and *gehycgan*, *Cd.*, 217 (*B-T.*); the latter is also followed by *willan*, *Bt. Met.*, 19, 34, and by *magan*, *Gen.*, 562.

Lætan (suppose) has the regular subjunctive, but is peculiar in the employment of *swilce* instead of the usual *þæt*, as *LS.*, 514, 439, hi leton *swilce* hi on æfen *slepon;* 526, 634. The conjunction *þæt* is, however, sometimes found.

Ondrædan. The idea of volition is present in *ondrædan*, in that the will is directed not to the fulfillment but rather to the non-fulfillment of the action contained in the indirect clause. There is, therefore, almost exclusive employment of the subjunctive or of the auxiliary constructions; as *CP.*, 49, 19, oðer ondred þæt he *forlure* ða gestidon, oðer ondred þæt he *ongeate* on his swygean; 107, 17; *Or.*, 144, 16; *BH.*, 41, 21; *Bede*, 294, 26; 410, 28; *AH.*, II, 122, 27; 132, 3; *Bede*, 190, 15, ongan ondrædan þæt he to helle locum gelæded beon

sceolde; similarly 350, 14; 354, 29; *Or.*, 78, 14, ondredon þæt mon þa brycge forwyrcan *wolde;* likewise 150, 9. One instance of the indicative occurs, *AH.*, II, 70, 14, we ondrædaŏ us þæt ge þa foresædan getacnunga to gymleaste *doŏ*, gif we eow swiŏor be þam gereccaŏ; this mood is probably due to the tendency, so often observed in logical conditions after verbs of present time, to use the mood and tense of direct discourse.

Orwena, with the subjunctive; *Gen.*, 2222, ic eom orwena þæt unc seo eŏylstæf æfre *weorŏe* gifeŏe ætgædere.

Secan, usually with the subjunctive; as *John*, VII, 4, secŏ þæt hit ofen *sy; AH.*, II, 308, 9.

Smeagean is comparatively seldom used as introductory to the indirect declarative sentence. It is followed most commonly by the construction with *willan*, as *AH.*, I, 206, 19, smeadon þæt hi *woldon* ofslean þone Lazarum; *Matt.*, XXVI, 16; *John*, X, 13. The simple subjunctive is also found, as *Mark*, XII, 12, þa smeadon hi þæt hi *gefengen* hine. In *CP.*, 55, 21, we find the inflected infinitive: smeageaŏ monig god weorc *to wyrcanne.* When *smeagean* has the meaning, 'to think,' 'consider,' it is followed by the indicative, as *AH.*, II, 96, 12, hwæt wille we furŏor smeagan buton þæt se *hæf*ŏ þa mede ŏe he geearnaŏ.

Spanan, usually with the subjunctive, as *Or.*, 146, 7, hine spon þæt he on Umenis unmyndlenga mid here *become.* Occasionally *willan* is employed when the wish or design is prominent, as *Bede*, 316, 22, gesponan þæt heo brucan *wolde* hys gesynscipes.

Teohhian, as an introductory word to indirect discourse, is frequently employed by *Boe.* and at times in *Cura Past.*, rarely elsewhere. The subjunctive generally follows, as *Boe.*, 84, 12, 13, he teohhaþ þæt him *sie* betst, þonne tihhaþ he þæt he *mæge* beon swiŏe gesælig; 82, 9; 98, 32; *CP.*, 286, 2. *Sculan* is used in recording a future event in *Boe.*, 92, 26, and expresses the falseness of an idea in *CP.*, 302, 3, tiochhiaþ þæt þæt *scyle* beon for eaŏmettum [tacere se æstimant ex humilitate].

Truwian when pointing to an undetermined or future event is followed by the subjunctive or by the auxiliary constructions,

as *AH.*, II, 310, 28, þæt he truwode on God þæt he *nære ascyred; Or.*, 72, 16, getruwedon þæt hie *sceolden* sige gefeohtan; similarly by *willan*, *CP.*, 57, 22; *Or.*, 148, 17; or by *magan* and *motan: CP.*, 447, 9; *Or.*, 76, 9; 86, 4; *Beow.*, 2954. When it is desired to express an actual state in an objective manner, the indicative is used, as *CP.*, 413, 32, þæt hi getruwien þæt hie þa forgiefnesse *habbaþ* for ðære hreowsunga; *AH.*, II, 24, 6; 428, 1. Expressions containing the related substantive *truwa* are generally followed by the subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 378, 30, næf'ð nænne truwan to Ælmihtigan þæt he him *foresceawige; Ælfric de Novo Test.*, 17, 9, mid fullam truwan þæt he geleafful *wære.*

Tweogan, Twynan, Tweo, Twynung. As these are strong expressions of doubt and uncertainty, a consistent use of the subjunctive would be expected after them; in most cases, however, a negative idea is also present which not only eliminates the element of doubt, but changes the expression into a strong affirmation. Hence, the usual mood in the dependent clause is the indicative, as *CP.*, 47, 10, nys þæs nan tweo þæt þæt *biþ* soð eaðmodnes; *Boe.*, 160, 11, ne mæg nænne man þæs tweogan þætte God *ricsaþ* ofer hi; *Bede*, 64, 10; *Boe.*, 178, 4; *Cr.*, 961. The periphrases with *sculan* and *willan* have little more than a simple future signification, as *BH.*, 83, 7, þæt nænigne tweogan ne þearf þæt se wyrd on þas ondweardan tid geweorþan *sceal;* 65, 8, nis nan tweo þæt he forgyfnesse syllan *nelle.* In some instances, however, even when the negative element is present, the original idea of uncertainty comes forward expressed by the use of the subjunctive, as *Boe.*, 164, 5, nænne man nu ne tweoþ þæt God *sy* swa mihtig; *AH.*, I, 160, 21; 610, 13; *Boe.*, 176, 15; 190, 8. One example is found of the accus. and infin. modelled after the Latin: *Bede*, 190, 21, ne twygeo ic *mec gelæded beon* [nec dubito me sapiendum esse].

C. *Verbs of Direct Perception and Simple Introductory Expressions.*

Of the introductory words of the third class there are two distinct divisions: (1) Verbs of Direct Perception; after these expressions the events recorded are displayed before the reader as simple, undeniable realities, the element of subjectivity is almost entirely excluded, and hence the indicative is the predominant mood in the dependent clause. (2) Introductory words to simple indirect narration of events; with these I have included expressions of custom, since the latter merely record events of frequent occurrence. Here also the objectivity of the statement is strongly felt and the indicative is the rule in the indirect sentence.

1. *Verbs of Direct Perception.*

In this class are included *witan, ongietan, geseon, gehieran, oncneowon, geacsian, sceawian,* and the like.

Witan.

This verb, expressing in general simple intellectual cognition, is followed very consistently by the indicative, as *CP.*, 149, 3, sceal se reccere witan þæt þa unðeawas *beoð* oft geliccette; 121, 2; 143, 1; 191, 5; 201, 17; 220, 16; 273, 21, 24; 355, 21; *Or.*, 58, 21; 74, 31; 242, 32; *LS.*, 4, 41; 166, 308; *AH.*, I, 96, 2; 198, 19; 284, 12, etc. The dependent clause has the function of subject after the expression *is to witanne*, as *CP.*, 157, 14, is to witanne þæt ærest *bið* se woh ðurhðyrelod; 273, 3; *AH.*, I, 110, 6; *LS.*, 424, 155; *W.*, 201, 23.

Almost all occurrences of the subjunctive after *witan* are due to the presence of ideas of contingency and the like, that enter in to modify the expression; as, *e. g.*, the conditional

element, *CP.*, 30, 11, we witon þæt he *nære* eaðmod gif he underfenge ðone ealdordom; *El.*, 459, gif hi wiston ær þæt he Crist *wære* cyning on roderum; *Boe.*, 242, 6; *Luke*, XII, 39. It is likewise due to a concessive idea, as *CP.*, 199, 7, þeah hie witen þæt hie elles altæwe ne *sien; BH.*, 225, 7. The subjunctive is caused at times by the element of duty or obligation expressed in the dependent clause, as *CP.*, 273, 24, eac sculan weotan þa þe .... þæt hie hiera sorge ne *geiecen;* similarly *W.*, 120, 16; *Boe.*, 170, 8; *CP.*, 459, 6. The subjunctive in *LS.*, 520, 542, is due to the negative character of the statement, and in *CP.*, 385, 12, to the influence of the governing subjunctive construction with *oþ:* oþ þu wite þæt ðin spræc *hæbbe* ægðer ge ord ge ende. In *BH.*, 183, 18, a false claim is thus set off from a true statement: wite þu þæt ic *beo* Godes sunu; compare 17, wite þu þæt ic *eom* dry. In *Boe.*, 116, 3, we have a rare instance of the simple subjunctive of indirect statement following *witan:* we witon þæt he *sie* buton þonne ealle þa oðre cræftas. In the introductory expression *witan þeah* ('very probably') there is no conjunction and the following verb is in the subjunctive regularly after *þeah;* as *Boe.*, 100, 10, ic wat þeah þu *wene;* 224, 27.

Sculan is frequently met with in the subordinate clause—to express sure action in future time, as *Or.*, 80, 35, we witun þæt we ure agen lif forlætan *sceolon; CP.*, 395, 22; *LS.*, 84, 570; 164, 291; *W.*, 248, 4; *Gen.*, 708,—or obligation and necessity, as *W.*, 298, 2, nyte ge ful georne þæt ælc man *scel* hyran his hlaforde?; *AH.*, II, 608, 15; *Or.*, 96, 14.

Willan is generally used with a personal subject in the future sense, as *Or.*, 80, 20, wiste þæt hie *woldon* geornfulran beon þære wræce þonne oðere men; 78, 23; 288, 15; *Beow.*, 1832. It expresses customary action in *AH.*, II, 552, 31, ic wat þæt þu eart styrne mann and *wilt* niman þæt þu ær ne sealdest and *wilt* ripan þæt þu ær ne seowe.

It is worthy of observation that the omission of the conjunction is very frequent in complex indirect sentences after *witan*, and it is often difficult to determine when the clause is

to be regarded as direct and when as indirect discourse. All things tend to show that the subordinating power of *witan* is considerably weaker than that of verbs of saying and thinking, and that there is a constant tendency to use this verb as a simple introductory expression like the Modern English 'you know.'

The following irregular constructions are to be noted: The subject-accusative construction is occasionally found, as *Wid.*, 101, wisse goldhrodene *cwen* gife *brittian; An.*, 183, 941; *Bede*, 36, 17. There are a few instances of the use of the accusative of the substantive and of the predicative adjective, as *Seaf.*, 92, wat his inwine æðelinga *bearn* eorðan *forgiefene;* similarly *Bede*, 82, 12; *Gu.*, 976, 1059; *Rid.*, XXXVI, 3. In *BH.*, 191, 36, the following curious construction occurs: wite þu þæt *Neronem* þysne *wyrrestan cyning* æfter þara apostola cwale þæt he becom on hatunga; the accusative *Neronem* is due probably to its being regarded by the careless or ungrammatical writer as the object of *witan.*

The statistics for the constructions after *witan* are as follows:

	CP.	*Or.*	*Boe.*	*Bede.*	*BH.*	*W.*	*LS.*	*AH.*	*Gosp.*
Ind.	24	9	23	28	35	27	14	46	28
Subj.	5	0	5	0	7	7	3	0	1
Sculan	1	2	1	0	5	5	5	0	0
Willan	0	3	2	1	2	2	2	2	1

Ongietan.

This verb is in frequent use in all the works of the Alfredian period, especially in the *Boethius;* it is, however, more sparingly used in later Anglo-Saxon and least of all by Ælfric who employs mostly *oncnawan* and *undergietan. Ongietan*, like *witan*, expresses its statement in a purely objective manner and the indicative is predominant in the subordinate clause, as *CP.*, 101, 13, he ongeat þæt he *oferstag* hine sylfne; 109,

14; 113, 14; 115, 4; 165, 20; 181, 21; 213, 4; 321, 6; *Or.*, 222, 1; 268, 14; *Bede*, 440, 30; *BH.*, 67, 5; 109, 10; *Boe.*, XII, 4, etc.; *Gen.*, 1474; *Jud.*, 168; *Cr.*, 1160; *An.*, 899; *El.*, 289; *AH.*, II, 136, 33.

The subjunctive in the dependent clause is always due to the influence of moments of condition, concession, and the like, which enter into the expression, as *CP.*, 69, 20, gif þæt ondgiett ongiett þæt hit self dysig *sie;* similarly 49, 21. It is due to the imperative nature of the statement in *CP.*, 119, 12, and to the negative character of the sentence in *CP.*, 195, 15, ne mæg furðum ongietan þæt hit ænig yfel *sie*. In *Boe.*, 56, 7 and 150, 17, the dependent sentence is also an ideal or unreal condition. The subjunctive is also frequent in hypothetical and assumed expressions, as *CP.*, 379, 18, se þe ongiete þæt *sie* gecieged mid godcundre stemne; 151, 14, þæt hie ongieten þæt hie men *tæle;* 281, 11; 419, 34; 441, 13. It is to be noted that in these instances the governing verb is generally in the subjunctive mood and the influence of this mood upon the dependent clause is doubtless to be looked upon as contributing to the use of the subjunctive in the latter; as also in *CP.*, 159, 7, ðylæs þe hie *ongieten* þæt he *sie* onstyred; similarly 449, 25. The strong objective nature of *ongietan*, however, often preserves the indicative, even when one or more of these moments of contingency, condition, etc. enter, as *CP.*, 201, 16, gif hie ne ongietaþ þæt þa *beoð* hira gelican. In *Boe.*, XII, 4, sæde he swytole ongieten hæfde þæt hit eal soð *wære*, and 156, 25, þu sædest þæt þu ongeate þætte God *weolde*, the subjunctive is really due to the indirect construction after *secgan*. Lastly, the interrogative nature of an expression frequently causes the use of the subjunctive, as *Boe.*, 208, 8, hwæðer þu ongite þæt ælc yfel-willende mon *sie* wites wyrðe?

Sculan has its well-known use as an exponent of duty, as *CP.*, 205, 10, þa he ongeat þæt hie mon mid sumum bisnum manian *sceolde* [cum trahendos cernet]; *Bede*, 188, 14. It is used in a prophetic sense in *Bede*, 198, 9, ic ongeote þæt he of þissum life leoran *sceal*.

Willan expresses little more than the simple future idea in *Boe.*, 66, 7; 76, 22; *BH.*, 135, 22. The original idea of volition is, however, seen, as in *CP.*, 457, 25, þa hie ongeaton þæt he gafol wiþ bæm friþe habban *wolde.*

The accus. and infin. is rarely met with and is an obvious imitation of the Latin, as *Bede*, 330, 15; 340, 14.

Undergietan is similar in meaning to *ongietan*, but is not so frequently used, for the most part only by later Anglo-Saxon writers, especially Ælfric. In its constructions it differs in no respect from the preceding verb; as *LS.*, 250, 207, þa undergeat he þæt se an *wæs getealdt* to þam cynehelmum; similarly *AH.*, I, 424, 33; 430, 12; II, 160, 12; 270, 9; *Chr.*, 270, C, 19.

Geseon.

The statement set forth by *geseon* possesses the full reality of direct perception and is expressed most consistently by the indicative, as *CP.*, 447, 32, þæt hi geseon þætte þis mannes lif swiþe hrædlice *gewit;* similarly *Or.*, 140, 22; 246, 29; *LS.*, 252, 218; *AH.*, I, 80, 12; 182, 4; 208, 3; *BH.*, 189, 5; *Bede*, 412, 28; *Byr.*, 203; *Boe.*, 94, 30.

The subjunctive is rarely found in the dependent clause. In *BH.*, 45, 8, ne sy eow nænigu cearu þæt ge geseon þæt þeos eadige Maria *sy* geceged to deaþe, the adhortative idea occasioning the subjunctive of *geseon* exercises its influence in the subordinate clause; similarly *Bede*, 438, 18. The subjunctive occurs also when *geseon* in the passive has the meaning 'seems,' corresponding to *videtur*, as *Bede*, 344, 23, þa wæs him eallum gesegen þæt him *wære* heofonlic gifu forgifen [visum est omnibus celestem ei concessam esse gratiam]; 396, 19.

Sculan expresses certain fulfillment in future time, as *AH.*, I, 534, 13, swa hi gesawon þæt he hrædlice gewitan *sceolde.* *Willan* retains its strong sense of volition in *AH.*, II, 302, 15, geseah þæt hi *noldon* heora synna behreowsian.

The subject-accusative construction is remarkably frequent after *geseon;* an action or event is in this way most vividly described as taking place immediately before our eyes; as *Bede,* 112, 7, heo þa gesegon *þone biscop mæssan mœrsian* in Godes ciricean; *Gen.,* 2777, þæt wif geseah for Abrahame *Ismœl plegan; Bede,* 386, 8, he *us* sceawode and geseah in gewinne *gesette beon* [the Latin uses here the accus. with the infin.]. Similarly *John,* XX, 5, 6; *El.,* 243; *An.,* 847, 992, 1004, 1009, 1448, 1492, 1690; *Rid.,* XII, 1; *Wand.,* 46; *Cr.,* 498, 506, 511, 740, 925, 1154; *Dan.,* 726; *Gen.,* 669; *AH.,* II, 272, 16; 468, 8; *W.,* 199, 13; *Bede,* 440, 21. This construction is thus seen to be a favorite one in the graphic language of Anglo-Saxon poetry; the Modern English equivalent is the present-participial construction.

Gehyran.

Gehyran, like *geseon,* is usually followed by the indicative in the dependent sentence, as *CP.,* 265, 24, hie sculon gehieran þæt on him *bið* gefylled Salomones cwide; 357, 22; *LS.,* 254, 284; *AH.,* I, 220, 30; *BH.,* 161, 6; *Bede,* 370, 26.

The subjunctive is more frequently used than after *geseon;* besides its employment in expressions containing ideas of condition, concession, and the like, as *CP.,* 211, 19, it is very common after *gehyran* when this verb serves merely to introduce an indefinite statement, thus agreeing precisely with the usual subjunctive of reported statement after verbs of saying; as *Or.,* 138, 18, ic hierde þæt hi na *nære* on þam dagum mid Romanum buton gewinne; *Byr.,* 117; *Bede,* 190, 32, we geherdon þæt *wære* wundorlice halignesse cyning [audivimus quia fuerit rex mirandae sanctitatis]; in the last example the Latin subjunctive may have had some influence upon the Anglo-Saxon mood.

The construction with *sculan* in the sense of duty is found in *AH.,* II, 544, 27, and in a prophetic sense in *BH.,* 5, 22.

Instances of the use of the infinitive after *gehyran* are few and confined mostly to the collocation *secgan hyrde*, *Beow.*, 1347; see also *Beow.*, 38, 582, 1843, 2024. There are a number of obvious imitations of the Latin accus. with infin. construction, as *Bede*, 310, 3, gehyrde Theodor *þone geleafan* þurh gedwolan swiðe *gedrefde beon* [audiens T. fidem per heresiam multum esse turbatam]; 232, 30, gehyrdon *heora biscop forð farendne and bebyrgedne* [cum ergo episcopum defunctum ac sepultum audirent]. The use of this construction for the purpose of vivid description is not so frequent as with *geseon: Cr.*, 797, gehyred rodora *dryhten sprecan reðe word;* similarly *El.*, 538.

On-, Ge-, and To- cnawan.

The indicative is almost exclusively used after these verbs, as *CP.*, 181, 16, we magon oncnawan þæt se eaðemodnesse lareow na ne *cwæð;* 181, 18; *AH.*, I, 128, 13; 372, 24; 426, 27; 466, 7; II, 60, 35; *Mark*, V, 30; *Luke*, I, 22; *LS.*, 392, 130; *Bede*, 114, 31; 330, 11; *An.*, 1517; *El.*, 807; *BH.*, 115, 19; it is specially frequent in *John's Gospel.*

The few forms of the subjunctive are due to external influences,—as, the final nature of the governing clause, *LS.*, 250, 193, þæt men oncnawon þæt we to þe *clypodon* and we *beon* gehealdene; *BH.*, 191, 27, þæt oncneowon þæt hie buton me *beon* þa þe habban; or the negative character of the expression, as *An.*, 714, soð ne oncneowon þæt hit drycræftum gedon *wære* scingelacum.

Tocnawan is not so generally employed as an introductory word as the other forms. Some examples of its use are *AH.*, I, 370, 16, þæt eal þeodscype tocnawe þæt swa hwa swa .... þæt him ne *bið* getid; 568, 23; *LS.*, 258, 342; 298, 216; *AH.*, II, 496, 9.

Behealdan is followed regularly by the indicative, as *AH.*, I, 84, 1, he beheold þæt God *gesihð* ure yfelnessa and ure

gyltas *forðgyldað*. The dependent clause frequently refers to a substantive object of the governing verb, as *AH.*, II, 446, 28, ne beheolde þu minne þeowan Job þæt nan man *nis* his gelica on eorðan; similarly 452, 14.

Cuð, *Sweotol*, and *Gesiene*, with the verbs *weorðan*, *beon*, or *don*, form strongly objective expressions and the indicative is used almost without exception in the dependent clause, as *Or.*, 158, 13, wearð Pirruse cuð þæt Agaðocles *wæs gefaren* on Sicilia þam londe; similarly *LS.*, 138, 327; *AH.*, I, 206, 13; *Boe.*, 84, 4; *Beow.*, 150; *BH.*, 167, 18; *CP.*, 153, 8, bið hit sweotol þæt se lacnigende *forlieseð* þone cræft; similarly *CP.*, 83, 20; *LS.*, 139, 327; *Boe.*, 80, 17; 98, 6; *Or.*, 252, 29, hit wæs eac gesyne þæt hit *wæs* Godes stihtung; *Beow.*, 3059. *Willan* is used in the subordinate clause in the sense of design, as *Or.*, 146, 13, wearð Macedonium cuð þæt Perdican broðor *wolden* winnan on hie. There are very few instances of the subjunctive sequence; as *Boe.*, 138, 19, caused by the interrogative nature of the expression: Hu ne wære hit genoh sweotol þæt hiora *nære* nauþer þæt oþer.

Geacsian, expressing the result of inquiry, sets this forth as an unquestioned fact; hence the indicative is the mood of the dependent clause. This verb is used as an introductory word almost wholly in Anglo-Saxon prose; only a few instances are found in the poetry. *Chr.*, 282, C, 15, þa se cyning geahsode þæt se here uppe *wæs*; *Or.*, 148, 16; 150, 11; 160, 1; 196, 9; 200, 11; 230, 4; 282, 7; *Bede*, 46, 12; 146, 5; 288, 30; *AH.*, II, 186, 2; *Beow.*, 433; *Ph.*, 393. *Willan* with a personal subject conveys the meaning of intention or design, as *Or.*, 80, 28, Leoniþa þæt þa geascade þæt hiene mon swa beþridian *wolde*. *Sculan* is used in the prophetic sense in *W.*, 197, 8. There is one example of the subject-accusative construction used for the purpose of vivid portrayal in the graphic style of Wulfstan: *W.*, 2, 1, we geacsedon his *geceasterwunan beon* godes englas and we geacsodon þæra engla *geferan beon* þa gastas soðfæstra manna.

Gefrignan is similar to the preceding verb both in sense and in sequence. This distinction is, however, to be noted: while *geacsian* is used mostly in Anglo-Saxon prose, *gefrignan* is a common poetic expression and acts as a favorite introduction to a poem [see *Beow.*, 2; *Ph.*, 1; *Dan.*, 1]. Examples of its use are *Cr.*, 201, we þæt gefrugnon þæt gefyrn be þe *sægde* sum wodbôra; *Beow.*, 695, hie hæfdon gefrunen þæt ær to fela micles in þæm winsele waldend *fornam* Deniga leode.

With *gefrignan* there are numerous instances of the subject-accusative, as *Dan.*, 1, gefrægn ic *Hebreos* eadge *lifgan* in Hierusalem, goldhord *dælan*, cyningdom *habban; An.*, 1094, ic lungre gefrægn *leode* tosomne burgwaru *bannan; Beow.*, 1970, *geongne guðcyning godne* gefrunen hringas *dælan;* similarly 2485, 2695, 2753, 2774; *Cr.*, 78; *Jud.*, 7.

Geleornian contains in some degree the peculiarities of simple verbs of indirect discourse like *cweðan* and *secgan*, in that the true subjunctive of reported statement is frequently found in the subordinate clause, as *BH.*, 117, 25, we leorniaþ þæt seo tid *sie* to þæs dagol; 131, 15, swa we on Godes bocum leornodon þæt drihten selfa to his gingrum *cwæde; BH.*, 133, 36; *Bede*, 164, 21; 174, 4; *W.*, 20, 12; 123, 12; 127, 8. The objective force is, however, quite strong and the indicative is frequently found, as *BH.*, 125, 8, þonne leorniaþ we þæt seo stow *is* on Olivetes dune ufewearde; 125, 13; *Chr.*, 66, F, 10; *Bede*, 100, 26; *LS.*, 344, 124. The construction with *sculan* implying obligation is found in *Bede*, 76, 7, þu þæt geleornadest þætte *sceolde* heo ahabban from Godes huse 33 daga [debeat abstinere]; similarly 62, 21. There are a few examples of the subject-accusative, as *Bede*, 90, 15, þe he ær geara geo geleornade ealde *Romanisce weorce geworhte beon* [factam fuisse didicerat]; similarly *Bede*, 404, 21.

Gemettan is regularly followed by the indicative, as *John*, XI, 17, gemette þæt he *wæs* forðfaren. The subject-accusative after the model of the Latin is found in *Bede*, 246, 14, þa

gemetton heo *þone ærcebisceop geleoredne* of worulde [invenerunt *archiepiscopum migrasse* de saeculo].

Gewita beon, with the indicative, as *CP.*, 54, 2, he bið gewiota þæt he *wilnað* him selfum gilpes; similarly 379, 13. The same construction follows the phrase, *is to gewitnesse*, *CP.*, 165, 13; 451, 16; *AH.*, II, 492, 16; *Matt.*, XXIII, 31.

Onfindan, with the indicative, as *Wid.*, 131, ic þæt onfand þæt se *bið* leafast londbuendum; similarly *Or.*, 52, 6; 148, 7.

Sceawian, like *geseon*, is followed by the indicative, as *AH.*, I, 490, 1, sceawiað þæt nan stede *nis* ures lichaman; *El.*, 58. The dependent clause refers to a substantive object in *Luke*, XII, 24, Besceawiað þa *hrefnas* þæt hig ne *sawað*.

Understandan, as a simple expression of cognition, is followed by the indicative. It is of frequent occurrence in Wulfstan and also in the works of Ælfric, taking the place in great measure of *ongitan* and *oncnawan*, the usual expressions of Alfredian prose; as *W.*, 20, 6, understandað þæt ælc cristen man *ah* micle þearfe; 32, 6; 37, 6; 108, 2; 112, 14; 128, 1; 151, 27; 155, 1; *AH.*, II, 28, 27; 210, 3; 458, 10. The element of advice or injunction is frequently present in *understandan;* at such times it is followed by the subjunctive, as *W.*, 28, 12, understandað þæt ge æfre *habban* rihtlice geleafan on ænne ælmihtigne God; similarly 118, 5; 155, 3; 167, 11.

2. *Simple Introductory Expressions.*

In this class are included *gelimpan*, *gebyrian*, *beon*, *geweorþan*, *ðeaw* and *gewuna wesan*, and the like.

Gebyrian and *Gelimpan.*

Since the element of subjectivity does not enter into the expression, the indicative mood is the rule in the subordinate clause, as *AH.*, I, 30, 10, þa gelomp hit þæt hire tima *wæs* gefylled; *Boe.*, 54, 3; *LS.*, 264, 51; *Bede*, 226, 13; *El.*, 272; *AH.*, II, 142, 18; *W.*, 214, 16. The following distinction

between these two verbs may be noted: as the simple introduction to an indirect statement, *gebyrian* and *gelimpan* are both in frequent use at the time of Alfred; in later times, however, *gebyrian* was less and less used in this way, having now generally assumed the meaning of fitness, propriety, suitability, and its place as an introductory particle is taken by *gelimpan*. Taking *CP.* and *AH.* as representative works of these two periods, we find that *CP.* contains twenty-five examples of *gebyrian* to four of *gelimpan;* on the other hand, in *AH.* there are over forty instances of *gelimpan* while *gebyrian* in this sense is almost if not entirely wanting.

The subjunctive in the dependent clause is due to external influences, as *CP.*, 199, 13, ac gif hwæm gebyrige þæt he his hlaford *befoo;* 341, 1, ðylæs him gebyrige þæt hi *werðen; W.*, 273, 11, þeah þæt gelimpe þæt men sume hwile *syn* her on worulde; similarly *CP.*, 199, 22; *W.*, 227, 9; *El.*, 441. In *Boe.*, 112, 20, the dependent clause is an unreal conditional sentence: þæt hwilum gebyrede þæt him betere *wære* þæt he bearn næfde þonne he hæfde.

It appears that the subordinating force of *gelimpan* is comparatively weak; hence there is ready transition to direct discourse, as *LS.*, 488, 16, þa gelamp hit þæt he ferde into anre byrig and of þære byrig he for into Cartagine; þa he gefrunen, etc.; similarly 388, 69; *AH.*, II, 446, 24; *Bede*, 400, 26.

A curious mixture of the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin constructions is seen in *Bede*, 382, 11, þa gelamp *him* þurh reliquias Cudbryhtes *gehæledne beon* [contigit *eum* per Cudbereti reliquias *sanari*].

Geweorþan.

Geweorþan is a favorite introduction to an indirect statement; its stylistic value is apparent; it is used not only to vary a long succession of direct statements, but also serves to prepare the reader for a statement about to be made. The mood of the dependent clause is the indicative, as *W.*, 18, 8, hit gewearð ymb XL daga þæs þe he of deaðe aras þæt him *com* of heofonum

ongean mycel werod; *CP.*, 111, 25; 197, 14; *Or.*, 98, 30; 108, 4, 24; 160, 23; 248, 4; *Chr.*, 356, E, 9; *W.*, 66, 9; *Boe.*, 52, 26; *Mark*, II, 15. The perfect tenses, *is* or *wæs geworden*, denoting a resulting state in present or past time, form a frequent introduction, especially in the *Gospels;* as *W.*, 164, 15, is nu geworden þæt men *scamaþ* for godam dædan; *BH.*, 153, 27; 243, 3; *CP.*, 91, 26; *Bede*, 246, 31; 296, 25; 414, 12; *Or.*, 37; *Matt.*, IX, 10; *Luke*, XVI, 22.

The usual subjunctive is often found after conditional, concessive, and final clauses and the like, as *W.*, 169, 15, gif hit geweorþe þæt se þeodscype *becume* healic ungelimp for manna gewyrhtan; *W.*, 172, 16; *LS.*, 514, 456; *Boe.*, 50, 14; *W.*, 79, 18, 19; 162, 16; 309, 15. The subjunctive of command is seen in *LS.*, 504, 292. The periphrases with *sculan* and *willan* are frequent with their usual meanings, as *Or.*, 178, 7, hit gewearð þæt hie *wolden* to Romanum friðes wilnian; 226, 16.

The conjunction is at times omitted, just as was observed after *gelimpan;* this is specially the case when a subordinate clause precedes the main clause of the dependent expression, as *BH.*, 237, 30, wæs geworden, mid þy þe hie me sendon on þis carcern, ic bæd urne drihten, etc. This omission is very frequent in the *Gospels*, as *Matt.*, XI, 1; XIII, 53; *Luke*, I, 41; VIII, 2.

In a few cases *geweorþan* is used with a personal dative in the sense 'it pleases,' with a final idea; here the subjunctive is used in the dependent clause, as *LS.*, 412, 457, þa gewearð his þegnum þæt hi *acwealden* ['they agreed to kill him']; similarly *LS.*, 278, 232.

Beon and *Wesan.*

As simple introductory expressions these verbs are followed by the indicative, as *Bede*, 98, 13, þa wæs þætte Augustinus *gelaðelode* Bretta biscopas in þære stowe; *CP.*, 353, 17, wæs eac þætte Fines *forseah* his freondscipe; *Or.*, 56, 6; *Bede*, 98, 13; 196, 10; 202, 23; 204, 6; 338, 31; *W.*, 227, 4; *Beow.*, 1763.

With regard to its stylistic value the following peculiarity in the use of this verb is to be noted: When a long subordinate phrase or clause precedes the main clause in ordinary direct discourse, the principal statement loses considerable force by being placed at the end of the expression; it is seemingly to correct this, that reference to the main statement is made by *wesan* at the beginning of the sentence, and, after the intervention of the subordinate expression, the principal statement, already introduced, is made in indirect discourse; this use of *wesan* is specially frequent in *Bede;* as 170, 9, Ða wæs æfter noht manegum .... þæt Wine wæs adrifen of his biscopsetle; similarly 104, 12; 108, 21; 176, 8; 186, 23; 192, 25; *BH.*, 115, 29.

The subjunctive in the dependent clause is due to the same causes as after other verbs of this class, as *CP.*, 57, 8, hu mæg hit butan þam beom þætte þæt mod ne *sie* eft to gecerred; similarly *W.*, 283, 28.

þæt is or *wæs.*

The combination of *þæt* with the verb *wesan* is an interesting introductory expression, owing to the variety of its use and the peculiarities of the constructions following it.

This introductory phrase is used in four ways:

1. To explain or amplify a previous statement. The indicative is mostly used in the dependent clause, as *CP.*, 463, 33, þæt is þætte þæt mod, sona swa hit God forsihð, swa *secð* his agenne gielp; 293, 16; 301, 24; 355, 5; 377, 14; 389, 26; 433, 20; 463, 33; *Or.*, 74, 15; 78, 4; 128, 26; 254, 8; *BH.*, 9, 32; 11, 23; 223, 17; *Boe.*, 22, 2; 70, 28; *W.*, 93, 2; 176, 1. There are a few examples of the subjunctive in assumptions or indefinite statements, as *CP.*, 349, 13, þæt is þæt hwa *fare* mid his mode æfter his nihstan; or it is due to the influence of a preceding subjunctive, as *AH.*, II, 46, 1.

2. To introduce a command or admonition following upon a preceding statement; the periphrasis with *sculan* is here

generally employed, as *BH.*, 67, 32, wes þu behydig and gemyndig Marian þinga, þæt is þæt þu *scealt* on æghwilce tid Godes willan wercan; similarly 23, 9; *AH.*, II, 464, 30. The simple subjunctive is occasionally used, as *CP.*, 461, 11, þæt is þæt ælc lareow swiðor *lære* mid his weorcum; similarly 461, 18; *W.*, 102, 24.

3. This introductory phrase is inserted between the verb of saying and the dependent sentence for the purpose of directing special attention to the following statement; the construction in the indirect sentence follows the usual rules after verbs of saying, as *Boe.*, 6, 21, þæt þu me geo sædest, *þæt wœs*, þæt nan anweald *nære;* similarly 176, 19; 182, 15; 200, 11; *CP.*, 323, 14.

4. To express the Latin construction of two correlative infinitives the Anglo-Saxon employs two correlative dependent clauses introduced by *þæt is* and *þæt* respectively; the subjunctive is used in both clauses; as, *e. g.*, for the Latin, 'gladium super femur ponere est praedicationis studium voluptatibus carnis anteferre' the Anglo-Saxon writes, '*þæt is* þæt mon his sweord *doo* ofer his hype, *þæt* mon þa geornfulnesse his lare *læte* furður ðonne his flæsces lustas' [*CP.*, 383, 4]; similarly 285, 7; 315, 18; 329, 19; 367, 12; 383, 7, 10; 421, 11. Fleischhauer, in his work on the subjunctive in *CP.* [p. 38], gives the correct explanation of the use of the subjunctive in these constructions: "Die Anwendung dieser Redensarten findet in der Weise statt, dass durch den Subjektssatz der Inhalt des unmittelbar oder mittelbar vorhergehenden Satzes wiederholt und durch den Prädikatssatz näher erläutert wird, und zwar so, dass sowohl der Subjekts als auch der Prädikatssatz kein thatsächliches Ereigniss sondern nur einen angenommenen Fall enthält, woraus sich der Conjunctiv beider erklärt." A modification of this rather artificial construction is occasionally observable, in which the regular indicative is used, as *CP.*, 413, 27, Todælu wæteru we *lætaþ* ut of urum eagum ðonne we for synderlicum synnum synderlæca hreowsunga *doð;* 425, 22.

A somewhat similar construction is observed in Ælfric's writings, when the indirect clause introduced by *þæt is* serves to define and explain a preceding substantive; as *LS.*, 358, 314, an is temperantia þæt is þæt mon *beo* gemetegod and to mycel ne *ðicge;* 358, 321, 326; 360, 334. When the conjunction is omitted the indicative is found, as *LS.*, 356, 300, se seofoða leahter is jactantia gecweden, þæt is, þonne se mon *bið* lofgeorn and mid licetunge *færð*.

Gewuna and *þeaw*.

These words together with the verb 'to be' are employed as introductory expressions to statements of customary action. The indicative is generally found in the dependent clause, as *CP.*, 337, 18, manigra manna gewuna wæs þæt hie hie mid þissum wordum *ladiað* and *cweðað;* similarly 461, 1; *Or.*, 100, 8; 156, 21; 164, 34; *Bede*, 64, 12; 76, 28; 148, 24; 370, 25; *Boe.*, 52, 30; *AH.*, I, 600, 8; II, 366, 15; *Beow.*, 1247; *An.*, 177; *Mark*, XV, 6; *John*, XVIII, 39.

In some instances, however, it seems that the very vagueness implied in an habitual action finds its most appropriate expression in the subjunctive, as *Wand.*, 11, ic wat þæt bið in dryhten ðeaw þæt he his ferhðlucan fæste *binde; Mark*, XV, 6. The usual subjunctive of ideal condition is found in *AH.*, II, 454, 13.

The periphrasis with *sculan* is occasionally employed in the dependent sentence; the primitive signification of this construction was that the continuous observance of a certain course of action caused its further performance to be looked upon as an obligation to be fulfilled; this earlier meaning has in great measure disappeared and the auxiliary *sculan* is simply a relic of this former idea: *Or.*, 21, 10, þæt is mid Estum þeaw þæt þær *sceall* ælces geðeodes man beon forbærned: gif þar mau an ban findeð unforbærned, hi hit *sceolon* miclum gebetan; similarly 70, 23; *AH.*, I, 218, 1. In Mark, XV, 6, the simple subjunctive is used in the indirect clause after the

abstract expression *wæs gewuna;* in the corresponding passage in *Luke*, the introductory expression has a personal subject, *hig hæfdon to gewunan*, and the duty imposed by this subject (the people) upon the magistrate is expressed by the use of *sculan* in the indirect clause: hig hæfdon to gewunan þæt se dema *sceolde* forgifan þam folce ænne forwyrhtne man [consuerat praeses dimittere].

Willan is also found in the dependent clause; though it had primarily the idea of volition, the meaning passed over to express a tendency toward a certain course of conduct and hence serves as a good expression of customary action [Lüttgens, p. 72]: *Or.*, 112, 19, heora gewuna wæs þæt hie *wolden* of sælcere byrig himself anweald habban; similarly *AH.*, II, 138, 3.

In *Bede*, 82, 1, the dependent clause and the infinitive are both employed, an obvious confusion with the Latin construction: wæs Romana gewuna þæt heo clænsunge bæðes and þweales sohton and fram cirican ingonge *ahebban* [R. usus fuit et lavari purificationem quaerere et ingressu ecclesiae *abstinere*].

The adjective *gewunelic* is followed by precisely similar constructions, as *AH.*, I, 40, 44; 60, 26; 478, 8; II, 228, 1. Likewise *healdan on gewunan*, *AH.*, II, 252, 8.

Cuman, *Gegan*, *Agan*, *Gesælan*, *Getidan*, and *Getimian*, all used in the general sense of 'to happen,' are followed by the indicative, as *CP.*, 437, 27, þonan cymð oft þæt mod him ærest ða ne *ondræt* ða lybban scylda; *Gen.*, 1562, þa þæt geeode þæt se eadiga wer on his wicum *wearð* wine druncen; *BH.*, 195, 1, oft hit gesæleþ þæt his æhte weorþaþ on onwealde; *Boe.*, 124, 13, getideð oft þæt he *næfð* nauþer ne þisse onweald; *AH.*, II, 168, 34; 426, 1; 430, 31.

Toweard wesan, a common introduction to a prophesy, is also followed by the indicative: *AH.*, I, 78, 35, toweard is þæt Herodes *smeað* hu he þæt cild fordo.

II. The Indirect Interrogative Sentence.

The indirect interrogative sentence is a question stated in dependence upon a governing word, phrase, or clause, which describes the time, manner, and the various circumstances connected with the interrogative expression; it is introduced by an interrogative pronoun, adverb, or conjunction, is to be found after most verbs which serve as introductions to the indirect declarative sentence, and is in a marked degree subject to the same regulations for moods, tenses, etc.

The divisions of introductory verbs of the indirect declarative sentence are also in force in indirect interrogative expressions; here, however, we meet with an additional class— *Verbs of Inquiry.* The interrogative particles are: (1) interrogative pronouns, *hwa* and *hwilc*, with their various paradigmal forms; (2) interrogative adverbs, as *hwonne, hwider, hwanon, hu;* (3) interrogative conjunctions, *hwæðer* and *gif.*

A. Verbs of Inquiry.

Almost all verbs introducing the indirect question may exercise the function of verbs of inquiry, yet most of these retain in the main the characteristics of the special classes to which they belong, and hence they cannot properly be discussed elsewhere. Under this head I shall only consider those verbs which are used simply as expressions of inquiry, as *axian, frignan, fandian,* etc. These verbs form the best and purest type of the indirect question and are quite consistently followed by the subjunctive in the dependent clause.

Acsian.

The dependent verb is usually in the subjunctive; as *LS.*, 10, 9, þa iudeiscan axodon *hwæt* he *wære;* 532, 723; *AH.*, 1, 152, 14; *BH.*, 219, 10; *W.*, 141, 13; *Bede*, 96, 29; 114, 30;

Boe., XII, 19; *Matt.*, II, 4; *Luke*, VIII, 9; *Or.*, 182, 19, ahsige eft *hu* lange sio sibb *gestode;* likewise *Or.*, 214, 11; 224, 26; *LS.*, 84, 578; *AH.*, II, 310, 14,—with *hwi*, *AH.*, I, 18, 12; 208, 30; *LS.*, 118, 44; 206, 178; 234, 236,—with *hwær*, *W.*, 152, 17,—*LS.*, 76, 455, axode þone cempan *gif* he *oncneowe* þæt gewrit; likewise 474, 40,—with *hwæðer*, *LS.*, 104, 264; 404, 330; *AH.*, II, 186, 1; *Boe.*, 134, 5.

Sculan generally contains a distinct idea of futurity and in such connections very often takes the place of the simple subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 14, 22, axode Adam hu heo hatan *sceolde;* *Or.*, 80, 16; *LS.*, 140, 370; *W.*, 220, 13. The construction with *sculan* seems frequently to alternate at pleasure with the subjunctive form or is used by reason of the desired variety of expression, as *W.*, 88, 20, agunnon hi hine acsian hwænne þæt *geweorþan sceolde*, and eac be hwylcum tacene man agytan mihte and hwænne his sylfes tocyme *toweard wurde*, and hwænne þisse worulde geendung *weorðan sceolde*. *Willan* has the true sense of futurity in *LS.*, 104, 244, and its proper sense of volition in *Or.*, 224, 26. The periphrases with *magan* and *motan* are quite frequent, as *CP.*, 48, 8; *LS.*, 38, 224.

Frignan, befrignan.

Frignan and its compound *befrignan* vie with *acsian* in frequency of employment; the latter is the favorite form in *LS.*, *Boe.*, *W.*, and *Gosp.;* the former forms are, with few exceptions, always employed in *BH.* and is specially frequent in Ælfric's writings and in the poetry. *AH.*, I, 502, 23, hi heora biscopes ræde befrunon *hwæt* him he þam to donne *wære;* similarly *LS.*, 174, 16; 200, 102; 204, 162; *Bede*, 96, 21; *Dan.*, 528,—with *hwilc*, *El.*, 849; *LS.*, 226, 117; *AH.*, I, 78, 17; 82, 8; 128, 11; *Or.*, 182, 16, frine hie mon *hu* monegum wintrum sio sibb *gewurde;* similarly *Bede*, 348, 13; *AH.*, II, 130, 26,—with *hwi*, *Or.*, 222, 14; *Bede*, 392, 11; *AH.*, II, 310, 1,—with *hwær*, *AH.*, I, 78, 11; 452, 2; *Gen.*, 1002,—with *hwonan*, *Jul.*, 258. *LS.*, 74, 410, befran *gif* hit soð *wære;* *AH.*, II,

120, 23, befran *hwæðer* þæs landes folc cristen *wære;* 244, 6; *Beow.*, 1320.

Sculan in the sense of duty or obligation is seen in *CP.*, 103, 10, frigne hwæt hi don oððe læran *scylen;* or in a prophetic sense in *Bede*, 296, 8, frugnon hi be his stealle hu be him geweorþan *sceolde. Willan* retains its usual sense of intention or design, as *AH.*, II, 30, 7, befran hwider he *wolde gan*, *AH.*, I, 298, 10.

Fandian and its Compounds.

These verbs express an investigation, the results of which are future with reference to the time of the governing verb; they are therefore followed by the subjunctive, as *Gen.*, 1436, fandode hwæþer sincende sæflod þa gyt *wære* under wolcnum; *AH.*, I, 268, 15, swa afandaŏ God þæs mannes mod hwæþer he anræde *sy; Or.*, 164, 28, þæt hie moston gefandian hwæðer hie heora med selþa oferswiðan *mihte;* similarly *Gen.*, 2410; *AH.*, I, 168, 15; *Or.*, 17, 7, 10.

The investigation is frequently made concerning a course of action dependent upon the will of another, and *willan* indicating preference is used in the dependent clause, as *LS.*, 376, 171, afandian hwæðer his mod *wylle* abugan from Gode; 338, 39, þæt he moste his afandian hwæðer he þurhwunian *wolde* on his godnesse oððe he *wolde* from Gode abugan; similarly *Gen.*, 2229.

Cunnian, expressing experimental investigation [*probare, tentare*] is also followed by the subjunctive or by the auxiliary constructions, as *Gen.*, 2846, cunnode georne hwilc þæs æðelinges ellen *wære; Chr.*, 239, E, 37, sceolon cunnian gif hi *mihton* þone here betreppan; *Dan.*, 531, cunnode hu hi cweðan *woldon;* similarly *AH.*, II, 68, 28; *LS.*, 154, 117.

Fricgean has in general similar constructions to other verbs of inquiry, as *Gen.*, 1834, fricgen hwæt *sie* freondlufu. In *El.*, 157, the conjunction is omitted and the interrogative expression is in inverted order: þæs fricgean ongan folces aldor, *wære* þær

ænig yldra oððe gingra. Occasionally the indicative is found in the dependent clause when a question is asked about a real event in present or past time, as *Cr.*, 92, fricgað hu ic fæmnan had mund inne *geheald.*

Hleotan, denoting the means by which the investigation is conducted, agrees with the preceding verbs of inquiry in the constructions following it, as *Or.*, 202, 33, þa hluton þa consulas hwelc hiera ærest þæt gewinn *underfenge;* similarly the phrase *hlot sendan*, *BH.*, 229, 2, hi sendon hlot him betweonum hwyder hyra gehwylc *faran sceolde* to læranne.

B. Verbs of Direct Statement.

1. *Verbs of Simple Report.*

Cweðan.

Cweðan, in its ordinary use as a verb of saying, is rarely followed by the indirect interrogative sentence; the *Cura Past.* furnishes a few instances of it, as 443, 19, næs him no þa giet to gecweden hwæt he mid rihte ðanon forð *don scolde.*

In most of its occurrences in this connection it is evident that the usual signification of *cweðan* as a verb of saying is greatly weakened, and that with the post-posited personal pronoun of the first or second person, this verb is employed merely as an interrogative introductory particle corresponding to Latin *numquid.* The verb of the interrogative clause is generally in the subjunctive; as *CP.*, 175, 5, hwæt cweðe we þonne hwelce *sin* þa inngeðoncas monna? The usual interrogative conjunctive particle is *hwæðer*, as *John*, VII, 26, cweðe we *hwæðer* þa ealdras *ongyten* þæt þis is Crist? [numquid cognoverunt principes, etc.]; *Boe.*, 130, 8, cwist þu *hwæðer* þu his þa halwendan monunge onfon *wille?* [num ejus salutaria suscipere consentis?]. In form alone are these expressions to be regarded as indirect interrogative sentences; they are logically direct questions, but

introduced as they are by *cweðan*, the laws of syntax require the indirect form. Besides the above construction after *cweðan* there are, as has been noted before,[1] two others in frequent use—the dependent clause introduced by *þæt* and the direct interrogative inversion; the latter construction is interchangeable at pleasure with the interrogative introduced by *hwæþer*, as, *e. g.*, Latin 'numquid ego sum' is rendered in *Matt.*, XXVI, 22, by 'cwyst þu *eom ic hyt?*' and in XXVI, 25, by 'cwyst þu *hwæðer ic hyt sy?*'

An indication of the great weakening that has taken place in the signification of *cweðan* under these circumstances is to be found in the numerous instances where this formal introductory word is not employed, but the clause introduced by *hwæþer* remains intact; as *John*, IV, 33, þa cwædon his leorning-cnihtas him betweonan: *Hwæðer* ænig mon him mete brohte? [numquid aliquis attulit ei manducare?] Such constructions are specially frequent in *Boe.*, as 96, 25, hwæþer þu woldest cweðan þæt, etc.; 104, 2, *hwæðer* þe me þince þæt se mon anweald hæbbe?; 120, 6, *hwæðer* þu nu fullice ongite?; 140, 21; 176, 19; 208, 8; 236, 21. This construction persisted and was very common in Middle English, as, *e. g.*, Wiclif in *Matt.*, XXVI, 22 and 25 (quoted above), reads 'Whether Y am?'; *John*, VII, 26 (above), 'Whether the princes knewen verili that this is Crist?'; I. *Cor.*, IX, 1, 'Whether Y am not fre?'; *Mark*, VI, 3, 'Whether this is not a carpenter; whether hise sistris ben not here with us?' etc.

The nearest Latin equivalent to this construction is the Latin direct question introduced by *an*, as *Boe.*, 120, 6, hwæþer þu nu fullice ongite forhwi hit swa seo? [*an* etiam causas cur id tu sit deprehendisti?]; it corresponds, however, to Latin expressions introduced by *num*, as *Boe.*, 236, 21, and by *ne*, as *Boe.*, 176, 19.

Somewhat similar to this construction is the indicative clause introduced by *hu*, as *John*, VI, 42, Hu *nis* þis se Hælend?

[1] See *cweðan*, Indirect Declarative Sentence.

[nonne hic est Iesus?]; XVIII, 26, Hu ne *geseah* ic þe? [nonne ego te vidi?].

Cyðan.

The strongly assertive power of *cyðan* as noted in the indirect declarative sentence is also observable in the indirect interrogative sentence; hence, the indicative is the prevailing mood of the dependent clause in the latter as in the former expression,—*CP.*, 401, 26, he gecyðde hwelc sio scyld *bið;* similarly 465, 18; *AH.*, I, 124, 27; *CP.*, 281, 6; 163, 11, he him gecyðeð hu sio byrðen *wiexð* and *liefegað;* similarly 163, 15; 419, 10; 441, 11; *AH.*, I, 66, 31; 70, 18; 242, 34; II, 142, 20; *LS.*, 392, 154; 466, 400; *El.*, 175; *Ælfric de Novo Test.*, 13, 13; *W.*, 153, 6; *Beow.*, 256; *Or.*, 100, 8.

There is, however, a readier employment of the subjunctive than in the indirect declarative sentences; whenever the interrogative idea is prominent, or when moments of command, condition, negation, and the like, enter, the subjunctive is the rule, as *LS.*, 494, 116, gehwa moste openlice cyðan hwæðer him leofre *wære* þe he þæm witum ætwunde þe he hi for Godes naman acome; *Bede*, 178, 1, hwelc þæs cyninges geleafa *wære*, þæt æfter his deaðe wæs gecyðed; *El.*, 860, ne mihte hire Judes gecyðan be þam sigebeame on hwylcere se hælend *wære;* *Bede*, 328, 20, gif he him þæt gecyðan wolde hwæt he *wære;* likewise *An.*, 800; *Bede*, 90, 29.

The auxiliary constructions are employed with their usual significations, as *sculan* in the sense of duty, *CP.*, 173, 14, nu we willað cyðan hu he læran *sceal;* 103, 3; 409, 21; *willan*, *AH.*, I, 82, 17; *magan*, 163, 3; *motan*, 409, 3.

In *Chr.*, 58, C, 20, the indirect declarative and interrogative sentences both follow *cyðan:* cyðde him *hu* his breðre hæfden wroht an minstre and *þæt* hi hæfden gefreod wið kyning.

Secgan.

A noticeable feature in the indirect interrogative sentence after *secgan* is the frequent employment of the indicative, as *Or.*, 24, 21, nu hæbbe we gesæd ymbe ealle Europe landgemæro hu hi *tolicgað;* nu wille we ymbe Affricam [secgan] hu ða landgemæro *tolicgað; Or.*, 210, 27, nu ic wylle secgan hulucu heo *wæs; CP.*, 225, 23, gif he him sægð hwonan þæt *cymð* and hu se lytega diaful *styreð* gewinn; *Or.*, 178, 22, þa asædon his geferan hu he heora ærenda *abead.* This frequent use of the indicative is to be explained by the fact that, though interrogative particles are here employed, the interrogative idea is at its lowest point and the dependent clause is no more than an expression of time, place, or manner, with reference to a known object. Indeed, in many cases, these constructions are on the border-line between indirect questions and adverbial or relative clauses, and frequently, when there is identity in the conjunctive particles of these two kinds of expressions, it is impossible to make any clear demarcation.[1] Additional examples of this construction are *Or.*, 250, 28, ic wille eow secgan hwelc mildsung and hwelc geþwærnes siþþan *wæs; CP.*, 163, 8, eac gesægð þæm mannum hu him eac hwilum *eahiað* ða costnunga; 401, 15; *Or.*, 100, 10; 250, 26; *LS.*, 10, 1; 174, 93; 190, 344; 192, 375; 220, 19, 23; 254, 266; 326, 104, 106; *AH.*, I, 116, 31; *John*, XX, 15; *Bede*, 580, 19; *W.*, 192, 13.

There is, however, even here a ready employment of the subjunctive, when negative, imperative, or similar ideas are present either in the main or dependent clause; as *AH.*, I, 386, 13, þær ðe bið gesæd hwæt ðe *gedafenige* to donne [compare *CP.*, 401, 15, ic eow secge hwæt arwyrðlicost *is* to beganne]; *Or.*, 156, 20, hit næs na gesæd hwæt Pirruses folces gefeallen *wære; LS.*, 532, 723, gif ge me secgan woldon hwær Decius

[1] See Mätzner: *Englische Grammatik*, III, 443, *b.*

sy; similarly *Or.*, 3, 13; 194, 24; 260, 6; *LS.*, 308, 24. The subjunctive is regularly found in the genuine indirect question introduced by *gif* or *hwæðer*, as *Matt.*, XXVI, 63, Ic halsige þe þæt þu secge me gif þu *sy* Crist; *Boe.*, 26, 9, gesecge hwæðer þe betere *þince;* similarly 28, 7; 38, 5; *BH.*, 179, 31.

Sculan is frequent in the dependent clause as an exponent of duty and prophecy, as *Or.*, 126, 29, sæde hu he him on his gewill anwyrdan *sceolde; CP.*, 73, 19; 443, 25.

There are numerous examples of the indirect interrogative sentence in addition to a substantive object, as *W.*, 237, 22, secgan ymbe his tocyme and hu he mihte, etc.; *LS.*, 422, 128. The clause serves often to describe the object, as *W.*, 292, 4, secgan be sunnan-dæg-halignesse hu se ælmihtiga God hine gehalgode; similarly *Exod.*, 24; *Wid.*, 54.

Ætiewan.

Ætiewan is distinctively objective in its nature; the interrogative character of the subordinate clause is comparatively weak and it is used mainly for the purpose of narration or description; hence the indicative is generally employed, as *CP.*, 161, 22, ðonne hie ætiewað hu manega him *wiðfeohtað* and hu æghwylc syn *bið* sætigende; *Jud.*, 174, het ætiewan hu hyre æt beaduwe *gespeow;* similarly *AH.*, II, 186, 13; 558, 10.

The subjunctive is, however, by no means infrequent; it is due to the final character of the expression, as *Bede*, 292, 33, þæt heo æteowode hu micel leoht Cristes þa halgan in heofonum *ahten* and hwylc gifu heora mægenes *wære;* similarly *CP.*, 161, 15; or to the imperative idea, either in the main clause, as *CP.*, 77, 14, he scealt ætiewan on his lifes gestæððignesse hu micle gesceadwisnesse he *bere* on his breostum, or in the subordinate clause, as *CP.*, 179, 11, buton we ætiewen hwæt hie *healden* ['what they are to lock up']; similarly *Luke*, XII, 5.

When the element of admonition is specially prominent, the periphrasis with *sculan* is employed, as *AH.*, II, 250, 4, wolde

him æteowian hu he oðrum *sceolde* mannum gemiltsian on mislicum gyltum; *BH.*, 237, 12; *Bede*, 350, 34; *AH.*, II, 542, 13.

The chapter-headings introduced by an interrogative particle, mostly *hu*, may be considered as governed by some such verb as *cætiewan*. There are two classes:—

1. Expressions which cannot be regarded as genuine indirect questions, but are merely simple statements, though in an interrogative form. The constructions are as follows:—(1) The indicative, as *CP.*, IV, hu oft sio bisgung ðæs rices *toslit* þæt mod þæs recceres; similarly VIII, IX. (2) The subjunctive of *sculan*, as *CP.*, III, Hu he *scyle* eall earfoðu forsion. [These correspond mostly to Latin *quod* and indicative.] (3) The indicative of *sculan*, as *CP.*, XIII, Hu se lareow *sceal* beon clæne on his mode; similarly XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII. [These answer to Latin *ut* and subjunctive.]

2. Expressions which are more interrogative or exclamatory in character; *sculan*, answering to Latin *debere*, is here used in either mood, as *CP.*, XII, hu he þæron drohtian *scyle;* XXII, Hu swiðe se reccere *sceal* beon abisgod; likewise XXI, XXIII. Under this head may be included the expressions introduced by *hwelc*, as *CP.*, X, hwelc se beon sceal; similarly XI. They correspond to the true indirect interrogative construction in Latin.

Reccan and its Compounds.

The indirect interrogative clause after these verbs is merely a descriptive statement with almost entire disappearance of the interrogative element. The indicative is, therefore, the usual mood, as *Boe.*, 150, 11, hwelc mæg areccan ures scyppendes anweald hu his gesceafta *weaxaþ* and eac hwæthwegu anlice *beoð;* *CP.*, 333, 14, gif se lareow him gerecð hu fleonde þis andwearde lif *is*. The strong objective force of the governing verb demands the indicative, even when the indirect interrogative idea is felt, as *Boe.*, 34, 6, ic eow mæg gereccan hwæt se hrof *is* eallra gesælþa; *BH.*, 173, 6, he him rehte hu

mycle scipboran he *gebad* on þam siþe; similarly *CP.*, 441, 12; *AH.*, I, 28, 26; 46, 10; *Or.*, 10, 4; *W.*, 147, 17; *BH.*, II, 436, 19; *Cr.*, 220; *El.*, 648; *Boe.*, XVI, 34; 34, 6; 134, 2; *Mark*, V, 16; *Beow.*, 2096.

The subjunctive occurs at times, due to the negative character of the expression, as *W.*, 28, 6, or to the imperative element, as *Rid.*, XXXIII, 13, rece hwæt sio wiht *sie*. When the idea of duty or command is prominent, *sculan* is used, as *CP.*, 73, 22, we willaþ reccan hu he þæron libban *scyle;* similarly 73, 21; 173, 14.

Bodian and *Geopenian* have strong objective power and are generally followed by the indicative, as *CP.*, 163, 1, ne sceal he no þæt an bodigan hu ða synna him *wiðwinnaþ;* *AH.*, I, 460, 10; *AH.*, I, 590, 28, þonne geopenige ic þe hu þæt lamb on his rice *þurhwunaþ* ansund; II, 460, 29; *Boe.*, 72, 3.

Eahtan (judge) is followed by the subjunctive in *Cr.*, 1074, as the future idea is strong: wille fæder eahtan hu gesunde suna sawla *bringen* of edle.

Geswutelian is generally followed by the indicative, as *AH.*, I, 272, 24, is geswutelod hu swiðe God *lufaþ* innysse; *W.*, 175, 18, geswutelode hu ure drihten wiþ his þegenas *spæc;* similarly 288, 4; *AH.*, II, 6, 18; 400, 16. The interrogative character of the clause at times requires the subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 50, 35, is geswutelod hu miclum *fremige* þære soðan lufe gebed; similarly 404, 2. This mood is probably due to final nature of the sentence in *AH.*, II, 180, 22, þæt he him geswutelode hwæt se Benedictus *wære*, and to the future moment in *John*, XVIII, 32, he geswutelode hwylcon deaðe he *geswulte*. The dependent clause introduced by *gif* requires the usual subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 480, 7, Geswutela me gif þu self *wylle* nyðerastigan. The construction with *sculan* is found in a strong injunction, as *AH.*, II, 64, 9, ic geswutelige ðe hwylcne ðu to cyninge gehalgian *scealt;* similarly 534, 5; *LS.*, 512, 406.

Gyddian and *Onwreon* are followed mostly by the subjunctive, the indirect statement and interrogative form favoring the use of this mood, as *Dan.*, 728, þæt gyddedon gumena mænigeo hwæt seo hand *write; El.*, 674, þu scealt wisdom onwreon hwær seo stow *sie;* similarly *BH.*, 185, 14.

Onbeodan (declare) is strongly objective and followed by the indicative in *Or.*, 1170, ge eac beamas onbudon hwa hy mid bladum *sceop.*

Oþewan is followed by the subjunctive in *Boe.*, 78, 10, influenced probably by the precative character of the governing clause: Ic þe healsige þæt þu me oþewe hwæt sio soðe gesælþ *sie.*

Rædan (read) is generally followed by the indicative, as *LS.*, 210, 11, hit gelamp þæt man rædde þætt godspell hu þæt wif *wearð* gehæled; similarly *Mark*, II, 25; XII, 26; *AH.*, I, 434, 28.

Sprecan is little used to introduce the indirect interrogative clause. In *Or.*, 62, 10, where little more than simple narrative is expressed, the indicative is used; the interrogative nature of the whole expression in *Bede*, 66, 8, favors the use of the subjunctive: Hwæt is to sprecanne hu heo heora ælmesse *dæle* oþþe mildheortnesse *fyllen?*

Tellan and *writan*, in chronicling past events, often use the graphic construction with *hu* with, however, little of the interrogative force; hence the indicative is the rule in the dependent clause, as *Chr.*, 244, F, 6, tealdon þa swyðe ealde menn hu hit *wæs gelagod* sona syððan; *AH.*, II, 306, 18, þus wrat Hieronimus be þære halgan rode hu heo *wearð* gefunden; similarly 84, 23; 360, 1; 468, 4; 486, 4. In an admonitory sense these verbs are generally followed by the construction with *sculan*, as *CP.*, 52, 10, is geteald hwelc he beon *sceal; Chr.*, 244, F, 15, sende gewrit hu he biscopas halgian and on hwylcum stowe hi settan *sceolde.* This construction is also employed to express certain action in the future, as *An.*, 135, hæfdon awriten hwænne hie to mose meteþearfendum weorðan *sceoldon.*

Remark. The assertive force of the introductory words and the interrogative character of the dependent clause produce an interesting conflict in which now the one now the other prevails; hence there is a remarkable diversity in the moods employed after verbs of this class.

2. *Verbs of Saying with the Element of Volition.*

In the following verbs the action of the will is expressed either in the form of a petition or of an injunction. The usual mood, therefore, of the interrogative clause is the subjunctive, with frequent occurrence of the constructions with *sculan*, *willan*, etc.

Anstellan (prescribe) is followed by *sculan* in *W.*, 218, 28, he anstealde hu men *sceoldan* þone halgan sunnandæg healdan.

Bebeodan, with *sculan* in *CP.*, 169, 20, Dryhten bebead hu he *scolde* beran þa earc.

Bysen, as an expression of advice, is followed by *sculan*, as *Bede*, 46, 9, þa sealdon hi him bysne hu hi him wæpen wyrcan *sceoldon*. As a simple reference to a past event, the indicative is used, as *LS.*, 440, 131, manega bysna synd on bocum be swylcum, hu oft weras and wif wundorlice *drohtnodon*.

Gestihtian (appoint) with *sculan* in *CP.*, 99, 11, gestihtode hu men *sceolden* ðærinne bet macian.

Getæcnian is followed either by the subjunctive, as *Bede*, 98, 28, þæt he us to getacnode hwelc gesetnes to fylgenne *sy*, or by the construction with *sculan*, as *Bede*, 90, 5, he getacnode hu he *sceolde* oþre biscopas halgian; similarly *CP.*, 451, 10. Used as a simple statement, it is followed by *willan* in the prophetic sense in *John*, XII, 33, tacnode hwylcum deaðe he *wolde* sweltan; similarly XXI, 19.

Læran is generally followed by the periphrasis with *sculan*, as *CP.*, 341, 15, ðonne sint sie siððan to læranne hu hi *scilen* mildheortlice dælan; likewise 389, 18; 441, 6; *BH.*, 19, 14; *Bede*, 64, 12. The simple subjunctive is also found, as *Bede*, 216, 11, lærde hwæt ymb þara hælo to donne *wære*. As a

simple verb of announcement it is followed by the indicative, as *W.*, 242, 13, lærð hwonne seo tid *cym*ð.

Rædan, as an expression of advice, is followed either by the simple subjunctive or by the construction with *sculan*, as *W.*, 51, 19 and 57, 15, þe him gerædað æfre hwæt him to donne *sy;* likewise *Bede*, 50, 9. The auxiliary *magan*, expressing possibility, is found in *LS.*, 426, 202, rædde him sona hu he beswican *mihte* his agenne fæder. The same constructions are noted after phrases with *ræd*, as *Beow.*, 172. In the vivid style of poetry the result of advice given is usually emphasized by the use of the indicative in the dependent clause, as *Beow.*, 277, Ic þæs Hroðgar mæg ræd gelæran hu he feond *ofersnið*eð, gif him ed-wendan æfre scolde bot eft cuman.

Sciran, with *sculan* in *AH.*, II, 290, 9, he ne scyrde on hwæðre healfe hi þæt net wurpan *sceoldon*.

Tæcan, as a verb of admonition, is followed by *sculan*, as *AH.*, II, 472, 30, tæhte hwilcere getimbrunge we *sceolon* to heofonum astigan. The simple subjunctive is seen in *An.*, 485, where *tæcan* has the meaning 'to instruct': getæhte hu þu wægflotan sund *wisige*.

Tyhtan is followed by the subjunctive in *W.*, 292, 1, þæt we æfre sculon tyhtan hu ge *agan* her on life rihtlice to libbanne.

Wisian is followed by *sculan* in *Gen.*, 850, him gewisode hu hie on þam leohte forð libban *sceolden;* similarly *W.*, 304, 18; *An.*, 1100.

C. Verbs of Thinking, Believing, etc.

The subjunctive is the usual mood in the interrogative clause after these verbs.

þencan.

þencan has two distinct meanings: (1) to devise, (2) to consider, reflect, remember.

In the former meaning, with reference to a certain end to be attained, *þencan* is followed by the subjunctive of *magan*, denoting the final nature of the sentence, as *LS.*, 200, 95, þu beþenc þe hu þu *mæge* ætwindan ðam ecum witum; *CP.*, 239, 12, sceal þencan hu he hie gelicettan *mæge;* similarly *LS.*, 200, 93; *Or.*, 76, 24; *BH.*, 55, 19; *Boe.*, 90, 8. It is also frequently followed by the simple subjunctive or by the periphrases with *sculan* or *willan*, as *Seaf.*, 117, þonne geðencen hu we þider *cumen; CP., 41, 23*, þonne hie þenceað hu hi sylfe *scylen* fulfremodeste weorðan; 101, 10, he geðohte hu he *wolde* þæt man him miltsode, 273, 5.

With its second signification, in which the final nature of *þencan* is lost, this verb is followed either by the subjunctive or by the indicative. The subjunctive is employed where the elements of interrogation or futurity are present, as *CP.*, 45, 24, hwæt þencað þa hwy hie ðara geearnunga bet *truwigen* ðonne etc; *BH.*, 41, 14, þence hwylcum edleane he *onfo; Boe.*, 250, 5, geþenc nu hwæðer þu ænig þing getiohhod *hæbbe;* similarly *CP.*, 329, 12; *W.*, 303, 33; *Boe.*, 116, 26. The indicative is, however, more generally employed in the dependent clause; it is regularly found when the thought is directed to the consideration of an actual occurrence, as *CP.*, 5, 5, geþenc hwelce witu us þa *becomon* for þisse worulde; 37, 23, ne geþencan ne con hwæt him *losað;* 357, 15; 467, 1. The conjunctive particle is generally *hu* and the expression is more properly an indirect exclamation, as *BH.*, 33, 25, to geðencanne *hu* micel Godes geþyld *is* and hu mycel ure ungeþyld *is;* similarly *CP.*, 159, 6; 233, 14; 315, 15; 329, 9; 343, 15; 359, 18; 377, 3; 391, 20; 437, 9; 447, 29; *Or.*, 122, 15; 296, 21; *W.*, 144, 29; *Matt.*, XVI, 9, 10.

In *BH.*, 91, 13, uton we geðencan hwylc andlean we him forð to berenne *habban;* uton we geðencan hu mycel egesa *gelimpeð* eallum gesceaftum, the distinctively interrogative nature of the first subordinate clause is expressed by the subjunctive, while the second clause, having rather an exclama-

tory character with reference to a real event, contains the indicative.

Smeagan.

Smeagan has similar distinctions in meaning to *ðencan* and hence a corresponding variation of constructions in the indirect interrogative clause. In its more usual meaning, 'to devise,' it is followed by the simple subjunctive or by the periphrastic construction with *magan;* when the will of the subject is made emphatic in the dependent clause, *willan* is here used. *AH.*, I, 78, 35, Herodes smeaŏ hu he þæt cild *fordo; LS.*, 514, 452; *AH.*, I, 225, 20, smeaŏ hu he hit gewrecan *mæge; LS.*, 224, 13; *AH.*, I, 12, 1; 16, 31; 18, 34; 26, 22; 192, 15; 286, 29; II, 6, 13; *Boe.*, 2, 17; *W.*, 280, 17. In *AH.*, II, 268, 7, we find both constructions after the same governing verb: smeagaŏ hu se hlaf *mage beon* gewend to Cristes lichaman, oþþe þæt win *weorðe* awend to Drihtnes blode.

When *smeagan* is used with the meaning 'to think, consider, reflect,' there is considerable variation in the moods in the interrogative clause. The indicative is employed when the attention is directed to an event which has actually taken place or whose reality is unquestioned, as *CP.*, 75, 5, þæt he smeage hu micel nied-þearf him *is; AH.*, I, 308, 19, is to smeagenne hu seo clænnys *wæs demde* geond ða geferedan ðenas. When, however, the interrogative nature of the clause is prominent, the subjunctive is regularly employed, as *LS.*, 226, 109, Petrus smeade hwæt his gesihð *gemænde; AH.*, I, 12, 18, smeaŏ hwanon deofol *come;* 340, 20, is to smeagenne hwi *sy* mare blis be gecyrredum synfullum þonne, etc.; similarly 48, 9; 68, 13; 542, 31; *LS.*, 244, 113. In *AH.*, I, 342, 14, is to smeagenne hu micclum se rihtwisa God *gegladige* gif etc, the subjunctive is due to the conditional nature of the clause. *AH.*, II, 228, 20 is a rare instance of the indicative in the interrogative clause introduced by *gif:* smeaga gehwa gif þæs beboda and oþre þillice *habbaŏ* ænigne stede on his heortan.

In the dependent clause after the allied verb *foresmeagan*, the subjunctive is quite consistently found, as *Mark*, XIII, 11, ne foresmeage ge hwæt ge *specan*; *Luke*, XXI, 14.

Wenan.

A noticeable feature of the interrogative construction with *wenan* is that the whole expression (both principal and subordinate clauses) is interrogative. These are really direct questions and *wenan* is not the principal verb, though it has this grammatical function; it is used simply to express a certain deference to the views of another or to indicate mere probability. The subjunctive is almost always used in the subordinate clause. The indirect interrogative constructions after *wenan* are of two kinds:—

1. The interrogative particle is used before the introductory phrase *wene we* or *wene ge* and also (frequently in a different form) before the grammatically dependent clause, as *CP.*, 353, 10, hu wene we hu micel scyld þæt *sie?*; *Or.*, 50, 1, hu wene we hwelce sibbe þa weras *hæfden?*; *Boe.*, 64, 16, hwæt wenst þu hu micelne hlisan Romanisc man *mæge habban?*; similarly *Or.*, 64, 5; 136, 21. When the interrogative adjective and its substantive are placed before *wenan*, the rest of the dependent sentence follows in the indirect construction introduced by *þæt*, as *CP.*, 281, 14, hwelc wite wene we *þæt* se fela spræca scyle habban?; similarly *AH.*, I, 442, 8.

2. The common introductory phrase, *wenstu hwæþer*; as *CP.*, 425, 1, wenstu hwæþer he hine miþ þy gehealdan *mæge?*; *Boe.*, 102, 10, wenst þu hwæþer hine ænig habban *mæge?* Occasionally the interrogative clause is grammatically independent of *wenstu* and the indicative is used, as *Luke*, I, 66, wenst þu hwæt *byþ* þes cnapa? ['What, think you, will this boy be?'].

Apinsian (weigh, estimate). The final idea is not present with this verb; the consideration is directed to the interroga-

tive clause regarded merely as a unit, hence the indicative is used in the latter; as *W.*, 245, 9, hit is to apinsjanne hwæt hit *getacnaþ*.

Carfull, *Carian*, and *Cepan* express attention directed to the attainment of a certain state, and hence the subjunctive follows, as *W.*, 72, 10, weorðe se carfull hu he swiðast *mæge gecweman* his drihtne; *AH.*, II, 78, 2, ða þe cariað hu hi manna sawla Gode *gestrynan*; *LS.*, 386, 36, cepte hu he *cwemde* Gode; 322, 48.

Costan, implying an investigation into an existing state of things, is followed by the indicative in *Cr.*, 1059, bryne costaþ hu gehealdne *sind* sawle wiþ synnum fore sige deman.

Cyre expresses an alternative whose regular construction is *hwæþer-oððe* and the subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 212, 11, gehwilc man hæfð agenne cyre hwæðer he *wille* fylian deofles willan oððe wiðsacan. A peculiar sequence is that with the correlative *swa-swa*, *AH.*, I, 112, 11, forgeaf he Adame and Evan agenne cyre, swa hi on gesælþe wunodon, swa hi deadlice wurðon.

Efstan, *Geornful*, *Geþeahtian*, *Gieman*, *Hogian*, *Hycgan*, *Ondrædan*, and *Reccan*, denoting thought directed either to the accomplishment of a certain action or merely to the consideration of a future event, are followed by the simple subjunctive or by the subjunctive of *magan*; the final clause is generally introduced by the conjunction *hu*. *W.*, 138, 8, efsteð hu he synfullum susle *gefremme*; *AH.*, II, 440, 17, Martha wæs geornful hu heo *mihte* God fedan; *Bede*, 248, 5, geþeahte hwæt to donne *wære*; *Mark*, III, 6, þeahtedon ongen hine hu hi hine fordon *mihten*; similarly *Gen.*, 92; *Matt.*, XII, 14; *Bede*, 72, 25; 162, 30; 350, 16; *Cr.*, 1569, þæs gieman nele hu þa womsceaðan hyra eadgestreon sare *geseten*; 1553; *Mark*, III, 2; *AH.*, I, 124, 14, hogiað hwilc se *becume* ætforan gesihðe ðæs strecan Demes; 316, 25; *Gen.*, 432, hycgað hie ealle hu ge hi *beswicen*; *Senf.*, 117; *Or.*, 138, 5, hi him þæt swiðe ondrædon hu hi wiþ him eallum endemes *mehten*; 88, 13; *CP.*, 447, 27, reccað hwæt him mon ymbe

ræstwe; 451, 26. The subjunctive is also always used when the interrogative idea is prominent, as *Rid.*, XXIX, 13, micel is to hycganne hwæt seo wiht *seo;* XXXII, 24; *Dan.*, 130.

Secan is regularly followed by the subjunctive, since the element of interrogation is specially prominent in the subordinate clause, as *Bede*, 158, 1, sohte hwæt þæt *wære; Dan.*, 732, sohton hwæt seo hand *write* halges gastes; similarly 79; *BH.*, 205, 27; *AH.*, II, 448, 9; *El.*, 415, 474; *Mark*, XI, 13; XIV, 1; *Luke*, XII, 29; *Bede*, 124, 19. *Secan* frequently expresses effort directed toward the accomplishment of an action; hence *magan* is often found in the dependent clause, as *CP.*, 227, 14, secð hu he hine *mæge* onfon; 239, 8; *LS.*, 490, 53; 500, 231; *Or.*, 140, 8; *Dan.*, 49; *El.*, 1156.

Sorgian, referring to action in future time, is followed by the subjunctive, as *Bede*, 282, 29, sorgende on hwylcre tide þone dæl þæs mynstres þæt ilce wite *gehrine;* similarly *Seaf.*, 42.

Swician and *Syrwian*, introducing expressions of design with the conjunction *hu*, are followed by the subjunctive or the periphrasis with *magan*, as *LS.*, 252, 220, swicað se deofol embe us hu he *forlære* þa cristenan; 242, 80, þas þry syrwiað hu hi us *beswicen; AH.*, I, 214, 31, syrwedon hu hi *mihton* hine to deaðe gebringan; *Or.*, 144, 35.

Tweon, *Tweogan*, *Twynan*, *Twynung*. The element of doubt and uncertainty is present in full force in the interrogative clause following these expressions, and the subjunctive is the usual mood, as *Or.*, 230, 19, tweode hwæðer hi aweg *comen; W.*, 196, 11, tweonað fela manna hwæðer he *sy* se soða Godes Sunu oððe na ne *sy; BH.*, 205, 10, wæs mycel tweo hwæt hie he þære *don*, hwæðer hii ða cyricean *halgeden*, oþþe hwæt þæs Godes willa *wære;* similarly *Or.*, 192, 15; *AH.*, I, 556, 14; *W.*, 2, 5; 3, 7; *Bede*, 2, 14.

Þyncan is followed by the subjunctive or by the construction with *magan*, as *Rid.*, XXXII, 18, wrætlic me þincð hu seo wiht *mæge lacan.* A construction similar to that with *wenan* is seen in *Or.*, 182, 22, hu þyncð eow Romanum hu seo sibb gefæstnod *wære.*

Ymbhydig, with a strongly interrogative and future sense, is followed by the subjunctive, as *Matt.*, VI, 25, þæt ge ne *syn* ymbhidige eowre sawle hwæt ge *etan* ne eowrum lichaman mid hwæm ge *syn* ymbscrydde; similarly *Luke*, XII, 22.

D. Verbs of Direct Perception.

The indirect interrogative expression after these verbs is either used as a vivid method of representing the events described, or may be looked upon as a mere object toward which the action of perception is directed; in both cases the objective force of the introductory verb is very strong and the interrogative nature of the dependent clause very weak, and hence the prevailing mood is the indicative. The subjunctive, however, enters when the interrogative nature of the sentence is emphasized or when moments of condition, concession, and the like, enter into the expression.

Witan and *Ne Witan.*

The strongly objective character of *witan* is felt in the indirect interrogative just as in the indirect declarative sentence, and the usual mood of the subordinate clause is the indicative, as *Or.*, 214, 1, ic wat hwæt se Romana gelp swiðost *is; CP.*, 343, 21, se ðe wat hwær he hiene *leget;* similarly *AH.*, I, 114, 3; 268, 16; 588, 17; II, 568, 15; *Or.*, 126, 31; 136, 20; 190, 13; *LS.*, 164, 290; 464, 368; *CP.*, 43, 22; *W.*, 123, 17; *Ph.*, 355; *Wand.*, 29.

The subjunctive is to be found, when the dependent clause is a genuine interrogative expression in sense as well as in form, when it treats of general assumptions or vague abstract ideas, and when it is either by nature or attraction conditional, concessive, or hortatory in character. The future idea is expressed either by the subjunctive or by the periphrases with *sculan* and *willan*.

Examples of these constructions are as follows: *Bede*, 432, 27, þæt ic wolde gewitan hwæt he beon *sceolde; W.*, 18, 15, he wille witan hu we him geleanod *habban* ealle; *AH.*, I, 336, 23, gif ic wiste hwæt he *wære; Boe.*, 162, 21, hie woldon witan hu heah hit *wære* to þam hefone and hu dicke se hefon *wære* oððe hwæt þær ofer *wære* [an abstract conception]: *CP.*, 427, 21, þæt men witen hwelce hi *sin; John*, VII, 51, demð ure æ ænine man buton hine man ær gehyre and wite hwæt he *do;* similarly *Beow.*, 2520; *Matt.*, XXIV, 43; *Luke*, VII, 39; XII, 39; *John*, VII, 17, 51; XI, 57; *CP.*, 51, 5; *Bede*, 100, 24. In *Luke*, VII, 39, the indirect interrogative and declarative constructions follow the same verb: gyf þes man witega wære he wiste hwæt and hwylc þys wif *wære*, þæt heo synful *ys*. The difficulty in seeking to establish any fixed rule for mood in these constructions is obvious when we consider the great variation in the use of the moods, even at times in the same sentence, as *Chr.*, 354, E, 36, gif hwa gewilnigað to gewitanne hu gedon he *wæs*, oððe hwilcne wurðscipe he hæfde, oððe hu fela land he *wære* hlaford, etc.; *Luke*, X, 22, nan man nat hwilc *is* se sunu ne hwilc *si* se fæder.

Sculan and *willan* are regularly employed with the usual ideas of duty, volition, and futurity, as *CP.*, 65, 11, se ðe wat hwider he gan *sceal; Luke*, XII, 39, gif se ealdor wiste hwænne se ðeof cuman *wolde;* similarly *LS.*, 280, 266; 380, 247; *AH.*, II, 254, 8; *Boe.*, 14, 2.

Ne witan shows the same peculiarities as *witan* in the syntax of the indirect interrogative sentence; the usual mood of the dependent clause is therefore the indicative, as *AH.*, I, 532, 25, he nat hwæðer he wurðe *is* into þam ecan rice; *LS.*, 352, 226, he nat hu he *færð* for his freondlicum drencum; *Chr.*, 305, E, 12, nan man neste hwæt þæs ealles *wæs;* similarly *Or.*, 120, 1; 124, 13; 206, 3; *CP.*, 41, 1; 63, 10; 241, 12; 429, 26; *AH.*, I, 256, 15; II, 104, 9; 236, 35; *BH.*, 17, 12; 223, 16; *W.*, 248, 15; *Seaf.*, 55; *Beow.*, 1332; *John*, IX, 21.

The general uses of the subjunctive are the same as with *witan*, as *LS.*, 454, 206, se oðer nyste hu he ham *come; Boe.*,

160, 3, ða sæde ic þe þæt ic nyste hu he ealra gesceafta *wealde; LS.*, 490, 44; *W.*, 238, 15; *AH.*, 104, 25; 306, 8. The subjunctive is also used in the dependent clause when the probability of knowledge is implied; as *AH.*, I, 92, 30, wen is þæt eower sum nyste hwæt *sy* ymbsnidenys. In *Boe.*, 46, 7, þæm neatum is gecynde þæt hi nyton hwæt hi *send*, ac þæt is þara manna unþeow þæt hi nyton hwæt hi *sien*, Hotz explains the difference in mood by the fact that the indicative denotes absolute ignorance, while in the subjunctive there lies the idea of the probability of enlightenment. The subjunctive is found when an alternative is implied, as *LS.*, 256, 293, nyte we hwæþer se weardmann *wære* æfre gefullod [he may or may not have been baptized]; also when there is ignorance expressed with reference to a future event, as *CP.*, 323, 23, hi nyton mid hwam hie hit þe *forgielden; Or.*, 78, 15; 212, 25. The less frequent method of expressing the alternative by *swa-swa* is found in *LS.*, 506, 306, ne we be him naðor nyton *swa* hi þær libban *swa* hi þær deade licgan.

Ongietan.

There is probably more regularity in the use of the indicative in the indirect interrogative clause after *ongietan* than after *witan*. The subjunctive element in the leading verb is here wholly absent and the interrogative nature of the clause is much obscured. *CP.*, 429, 24, hi ongietað hwæt ymb hi gedon *bið; Wand.*, 73, ongitan sceal gleawhæle hu gæstlic *bið; Boe.*, 136, 20, ic ne mæg ongitan forhwi þu eft *segst*. The *hu*-clause is of special frequency, as *Boe.*, 30, 14, þu miht ongitan hu þa mine sælþa *is* oncerred; other examples are *CP.*, 220, 6; 231, 16; 233, 23; 239, 4; 241, 16; 257, 20; 271, 22; 277, 4; 343, 12; 375, 23; 377, 22; 389, 8; 393, 31; 405, 8; 431, 13; 441, 8; 465, 22; *Or.*, 62, 32; 194, 9; *W.*, 252, 5; *Boe.*, 44, 31; 46, 4; 136, 20; 180, 2.

The indicative is very persistent in the dependent clause and a considerable influence is required to change it into the

subjunctive; it is doubtful whether any examples could be brought forward for the use of the subjunctive simply on account of the interrogative nature of the dependent clause. When the sentence is negative, the subjunctive is occasionally met with, as *LS.*, 530, 671, ic ongytan ne mæg hu me *sy* þus gelumpen. The most frequent occurrences of the subjunctive are due to the final or interrogative character of the whole expression, as *CP.*, 75, 7, þæt he ongyte for hwæs geðyncðum þæt folc *sie* genemned heord; *Boe.*, 150, 19, hwæt þu nu ongite forhwy þæt fyr *fundige* up?; similarly *CP.*, 183, 8. The usual subjunctive after *hwæþer* is seen in *Boe.*, 34, 9, miht þu nu ongitan hwæþer þu auht þe deorwyrþre *habbe*.

Gehieran.

As an expression of direct sense-perception *gehieran* is almost invariably followed by the indicative in the interrogative clause, as *CP.*, 299, 13, gehieren hwæt he eft *cwæð; BH.*, 19, 10, gehyran me nu forhwon se blinda leoht *onfeng;* similarly *CP.*, 299, 7, 15, 18, 21, 22; 315, 23; 317, 13, 15, 20, 21, 23; 323, 4, 7; 359, 9; *AH.*, I, 464, 10; II, 300, 5; *LS.*, 10, 11; 24, 1; 363, 375; *BH.*, 165, 15; *Matt.*, XXVII, 13; *Byr.*, 45; *El.*, 514.

In some cases the interrogative idea in the dependent clause claims recognition and the subjunctive is used, as *AH.*, I, 280, 8, uton we gehyran he þam Halgan Gaste hwæt he *sy*. Introduced by *gif* or *hwæðer*, the subjunctive is regular, as *LS.*, 468, 448, mon ne gehyrde gif ænig scypherde *wære*.

Geseon.

Geseon is generally followed by the indicative, as *CP.*, 157, 16, ðu ne miht geseon hwæt þærinne *byð* gehydde; 5, 9, ic geseah hu þa ciricean geond eall Angelcynn *stodon* madma gefyldne; *Gen.*, 666, ic mæg geseon hwær he self *sitteð;* likewise *Exod.*, 83; *W.*, 199, 6; *LS.*, 402, 291; *BH.*, 229, 20;

Cr., 1134. The indicative often occurs even after the conjunctions *gif* and *hwæðer*, as *CP.*, 157, 16, mæg man geseon gif þær hwelc dieglu scond inne *bið*; *AH.*, II, 414, 19, we sceolon geseon hwæðer ðin Iacobus þe *alyst* fram ðisum bendum.

There are a few instances of the subjunctive, mostly when the act of perception is future with reference to the time of the leading verb, as *Boe.*, 58, 4, hine lyste geseon hu seo *burne*; *Mark*, XV, 36, þæt we geseon hwæðer Helias *cume* hine niðer to settanne; *Luke*, XIX, 3, he wolde geseon hwylc se Hælend *wære* [the action is not described as taking place]. The subjunctive is due to the negative character of the sentence in *AH.*, I, 433, 14. *Sculan* has its usual signification of obligation in *CP.*, 365, 14, þæt we magon geseon hwæt we don *scylen*.

In *Gen.*, 1270, the indirect interrogative and indirect declarative constructions follow the same governing verb: þa geseah sigora waldend *hwæt* wæs manna manas on eorðan and *þæt* hie wæron womma þriste inwitfulle.

Ametan (estimate) is followed by the subjunctive in *CP.*, 53, 13, due probably to the final character of the expression: þæt ge ameten hwæt ge *sien*.

Behealdan. The indicative is generally found in the indirect interrogative clause, as *Boe.*, 68, 21, behealde he hu widgille þæs heofones hwearfe *bið*; *AH.*, I, 242, 27, behealde ge hwæðer ge *sint* Godes scep; similarly *Boe.*, 180, 5; *AH.*, I, 582, 12; *LS.*, 494, 107; *Rid.*, XVIII, 5. Occasionally the interrogative character of the dependent clause outweighs the objective nature of *behealdan* and the subjunctive is used, as *Bede*, 288, 14, mid þy heo behealdende wæs hwelcum teonde up ahafen *wære* se wlite þæs wuldorlican lichoman. This is specially so after *hwæðer*, as *AH.*, II, 76, 31, behealde hwæðer he on Godes wingearde *swince*.

Besceawian expresses close observation of certain events which are vividly described by the indicative in the indirect clause, as *Matt.*, VI, 28, besceawiað þa lilian hu hi *weaxað*; *AH.*, I, 488, 20, besceawiað hu wræcfill þis andwearde lif *is*; similarly *Luke*,

XII, 24; *BH.*, 59, 22; *AH.*, I, 486, 17; II, 84, 7. In the sense of a verb of inquiry, *besceawian* is followed by the subjunctive, as *AH.*, II, 500, 32.

Cunnan is generally followed by the indicative, as *Beow.*, 2071, þæt þu geare cunne to hwam siððan *wearð* hond-ræs hæleþa; 162, men ne cunnon hwyder hel-runan hwyrftum *scriðað*; *Cr.*, 573; *Ælfric's Pref. Gen.*, 22, 25. The indicative is found even after *hwæðer*, as *Beow.*, 1356. The subjunctive is, however, frequent when ideas of indefiniteness or uncertainty are present, especially when the expression is future or negative, as *Bede*, 136, 6, hwæt þær *foregenge* oððe hwæt þær *æfterfige* we ne cunnon; likewise *El.*, 531; *W.*, 298, 31. *Willan* is used in the sense of design or futurity in *Wand.*, 71; *An.*, 342.

Cuð, *Sweotol*, *Undyrne*. The interrogative clause is set forth in the most objective manner by these expressions, and the indicative is used, as *Boe.*, 32, 36, nis hit sweotol hu hwerflice þa woruld-sælþa *sint*; *Beow.*, 2001, þæt is undyrne hwylc orleg-hwil uncer Grendles *wearð* on þam wange; similarly *BH.*, 183, 9; *Rid.*, XLIII, 15. In expressions of uncertainty, negation, and the like, the subjunctive or modal auxiliaries are sometimes employed, as *Gen.*, 2709, ne wæs cuð hwæðer on þyssum folce frean Ælmihtiges egesa *wære*; *BH.*, 51, 35, is swiðe uncuð hwæt ure yrfenweardas don *willen* æfter urum life.

Findan is usually followed by the indicative, as *El.*, 202, þa se æðeling fand hwar ahangen *wæs* rodora waldend; *Ælfric de Vet. Test.*, 2, 47.

Forgietan, essentially a negative verb of perception, is followed by the indicative, as *CP.*, 183, 23, ne sculon we forgietan hu hit *wæs* be Saule. *Sculan* in the sense of obligation is met with in *CP.*, 387, 14.

Ge-, *On*, *To-cnawan*. The strongly objective nature of these verbs and the interrogative character of the dependent clause cause an interesting variation of mood. The indicative is, however, mostly employed, as *AH.*, I, 410, 9, þæt heo oncnawe mid hwilcum feondum heo ymbsæt *bið*; *CP.*, 349, 24, we magon

oncnawan hu micel yfel sio gesceadwislice gecynd *gefremeð;* likewise *Or.*, 94, 21; *AH.*, I, 588, 8; *W.*, 189, 3. Besides those instances in which the subjunctive is due to the interrogative character of the dependent clause, this mood is quite common when the whole expression is interrogative, as *AH.*, I, 14, 4, hu mihte Adam tocnawan hwæt he *wære?* It is specially frequent after *hwæþer*, as *W.*, 60, 3, man mæg þæne man tocnawan hwæðer him Godes gast on *wunige* oððe ðæs deofles, in which case an alternative is emphatically stated; similarly in *LS.*, 534, 743; *John*, VII, 17. When the alternative is not so strongly felt the indicative at times occurs, as *AH.*, II, 228, 22, ðonne gecnæwð hwæðer he *is* of Gode.

Gefrignan and *Geleornian* are regularly followed by the indicative, as *Beow.*, 1, we Gar-Dena þrym gefrunon hu þa æðelingas ellen *fremedon;* 2404; *AH.*, I, 438, 3, ge geleornodon hu se heahengel Gabriel ðam eadigan mædene Marian æðelinges acennednysse *gecyðde.* The constructions with *sculan* and *magan*, expressing duty and ability respectively, are common, as *CP.*, 101, 9, he geleornode hu he *sceolde* oðrum mannum miltsian; *Or.*, 158, 3, hæfdon geleornod hu hie þa elpendes beswican *mehton.*

Gemunan, To gemynde cuman, Gemyndig beon, Gemyndgan, and *Gemynd genywian*, all having the common signification of remembrance, are followed by the indicative in the indirect interrogative clause; this construction is employed to bring before the mind in a vivid manner various occurrences of past time. The *hu*-clause is almost universal; as *CP.*, 7, 15, þa ic þe gemunde hu sio lar afeallen *wæs* geond Angelcynn; *AH.*, I, 46, 15, gemynd genywode hu Moyses heora foregengan *gelædde* and hu hi on westene *wæron;* similarly 6, 9; 52, 25; 226, 6; *CP.*, 3, 2; 5, 25; *BH.*, 129, 10; 237, 9; *W.*, 258, 8; *Boe.*, 10, 3. There are frequent examples of the use of a substantive object and also of the indirect interrogative clause either to describe the object or to make an additional statement, as *Or.*, 82, 15, Themistocles gemyndgode Jonas þære ealdan fæhðe *hu he hie on his geweald genidde; Wand.*, 34,

geman he sele, secgas, and sincþege, *hu hine on geogu̇ðe his goldwine wenede to wiste; BH.*, 129, 10, hie gemunað þa mycelan eaðmodnesse and *hu luflice he us ærest gesohte;* similarly *Jul.*, 624; *Rid.*, LXXX, 7. The interrogative construction, however, occasionally leads to the use of the subjunctive, as *Dan.*, 110, com on sefan hwurfan swefnes woma hu woruld *wære* wuldrum geteod; *AH.*, II, 22, 21, uton beon gemyndige hu micelre geðincðe *sy* þæt hælige mæden; the vagueness of a vision in the former, and the hortatory character of the latter expression favor the use of the subjunctive.

Hlistan is followed by the subjunctive in *W.*, 132, 8, hliste we on Englisc hwæt þæt Læden *cwæde.*

Locian is generally followed by the indicative, as *Exod.*, 278, ge lociað færwundra sum hu ic sylfa *sloh.* This verb is mostly used in the imperative in an exclamatory sense, corresponding to Latin *ecce*, as *John*, XI, 36, loca hu he hine lufode [ecce quomodo amabat eum]; *Mark*, II, 24, loca nu hwæt þine leorningcnihtas *doð* [ecce quid faciunt]; similarly *Matt.*, XXI, 20; *Mark*, XI, 21; XV, 4. There are sporadic occurrences of the subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 474, 25, loca hu lange se soða læce hit *foresceawige.*

Scrutnian is generally followed by the indicative in the interrogative clause introduced by *hu*, as *AH.*, I, 582, 25, scrutniað hu deorlice hit *is* to geogenne.

Undergietan and *Understandan* are followed by the same construction as *oncnawan: AH.*, I, 146, 30, understandað hu be hire awriten is; similarly *W.*, 32, 8; 108, 6; 122, 11; 308, 18; *Ælfric's Pref. Gen.*, 23, 32; *AH.*, II, 58, 13; 82, 33; 120, 10; 334, 28. In *LS.*, 372, 132, nellað understandan hu stuntlice hi *doð*, oððe hu se deada stan him *mæge* gehelpan, the indicative denotes entire ignorance of the true character of the men's actions, while the subjunctive implies a doubt as to the efficacy of the stone.

Wlitan and its compounds. The indicative is used in the interrogative clause after these verbs, as *Ph.*, 341, Wlitað hu seo wilgedryht wildne *weorðiað.* The subjunctive is often

used in descriptions of future time, as *Jul.*, 399, þæt ic gehygd eal geondwlite hu afæstnod *sy* ferhð; also after *hwæðer*, as *Cr.*, 1330.

Wundrian. The contents of the indirect interrogative clause after this verb have a genuine interrogative or rather an exclamatory signification; hence the subjunctive is the prevailing mood, as *Or.*, 134, 12, þa wundrode Alexander hwy hit swa æmenne *wære; Cr.*, 1016, nis ænig wundor hu him woruld manna seo unclæne gecynd cearum sorgende *ondrede;* similarly *Boe.*, 40, 4; 172, 5; 244, 20; 248, 2; 250, 19; *AH.*, I, 590, 23; *Bede*, 346, 30; *Mark*, XV, 44.

Indirect interrogative clauses are almost entirely wanting after simple introductory expressions; the nearest approach to this construction is in such sentences as *Ælfric de Vet. Test.*, 7, 38, an is Parabole wisdomes bigspell and warnung and *hu man selost mæg synna forbugan*, and hit stent þurh Godes gyfa *hu us bið æt Gode gedemed.*

III. The Moods in Indirect Discourse.

A. The Moods in the Indirect Declarative Sentence.

1. *The Subjunctive.*

The following general remark may be made with regard to employment of the subjunctive after verbs introducing the indirect declarative sentence: The subjunctive is most consistently used after verbs of thinking and believing [Class B], and of petition and command [Class A, 2]; it varies considerably with the indicative after verbs of simple report [Class A, 1]; and is found least of all after verbs of direct perception [Class C].

There are two varieties of subjunctives in indirect discourse; it is used (1) to denote mere report, (2) to express

design, futurity, uncertainty, and other similar ideas, either contained in the governing verb itself or proceeding from without and affecting both the principal and the subordinate clause. In the later periods of the language there is observable a growing tendency to make less and less use of the subjunctive and to substitute the indicative for it; this tendency, however, did not proceed to the same extent with the two varieties of subjunctives. The feeling against the employment of the subjunctive to express simple report grew strong in course of time, till in late Anglo-Saxon the indicative came to be regarded as the almost universal mood after simple verbs of saying; though there was considerable levelling of the subjunctives of the second kind under the indicative or the periphrastic forms, this tendency is by no means so marked as with subjunctives of simple report.

(*a*) *The Subjunctive of Simple Report.* The subjunctive is frequently employed, especially after verbs of Class A, 1, to signify that the statement made is merely a report, and there is generally combined with this the stronger moment of subjectivity by which the speaker is unwilling to guarantee the correctness of the report, as, *e. g.*, *Or.*, 36, 12, be þam Theuhalion wæs geweden þæt he *wære* moncynnes to-driend; *CP.*, 71, 2, hie sædon þæt hie *wæren* wiese; 415, 14, hit is awriten þæt Dina *wære* utgangende. These verbs (*cweðan*, *secgan* and *awritan*) are followed very consistently by the subjunctive in the Alfredian period, but there is a general transition to the indicative in the later language. The subjunctive is also found with greater or less regularity after the other verbs of this class, as *sprecan*, *Or.*, 48, 25; *rædan*, *AH.*, I, 152, 3; *andettan*, *AH.*, I, 116, 23. Owing to the strongly objective character of *cyðan* the following indirect statement is mostly in the indicative; yet there are occasional instances of the subjunctive of report, as *AH.*, I, 128, 10, cyðdon þæt his sunu gesund *wære*.

Among the great number of indicative constructions after verbs of perception there are a few scattered examples of the

subjunctive of report, as *BH.*, 117, 25, we leorniað þæt seo tid *sie* toþæs degol; this is most frequent after *hieran*, as *Or.*, 138, 18; *Byr.*, 117. In the following examples it is probable that a feeling for some expression of possible doubt contributed to the employment of the subjunctive, in addition to the attraction to a subjunctival form in the governing clause: *LS.*, 250, 193, þæt men oncnawon þæt we *beon* gehealdene; *BH.*, 145, 8, ne sy eow nænigu cearo þæt ge geseon þæt þeos eadige Maria *sy* geceged to deaðe.

In late Anglo-Saxon, owing to the prevalence of the indicative, the use of the subjunctive is a strong indication that the speaker does not give his warrant to the statement, as *John*, VIII, 54, be þam ge cweðað þæt he *sy* ure God; similarly *Matt.*, XXVII, 64; *Mark*, XII, 18; *John*, IX, 19; *AH.*, II, 234, 4, 9. Especially is this the case with *leogan*, as *AH.*, I, 378, 7, untwylice þu lyhst þæt þu God *sy*. In some instances, as in *Boe.*, 210, 4, a true and a false statement are contrasted by the use of the indicative and of the subjunctive respectively: ne cweþe ic þæt þæt yfel *sy;* ac ic cweþe þæt hit *is* betere, þæt man wrege, etc.

As the subjunctive of simple report is evidently a modification of the subjunctive of subjective reflection, it is interesting to notice the various degrees of probability set forth by this mood. In a passage like *AH.*, I, 116, 19, wiðsocon þæt he deadlic flæsc *underfenge*, the subjunctive expresses what is in the opinion of the speaker a downright falsehood; then, as is well illustrated by the constructions after *secgan* in the Voyages of Othere and Wulfstan [*Bright's Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 38 ff.], this mood serves to make reports, the certainty of which is not vouched for by the writer: he sæde þæt Norðmanna land *wære* swyðe lang and swyþe smæl; finally, as is abundantly seen in the numerous scriptural quotations introduced by *awritan*, the subjunctive serves no other purpose than to indicate mere indirect quotation; the subjective element of doubt is here at its weakest, for the Anglo-Saxon translator

of the *Pastoral Care* is too good a churchman to permit us to question his belief in Holy Writ.

(*b*) *The Subjunctive due to the nature of the governing verb.*

(1) The subjunctive indicates an expression of the will contained in verbs of command, advice, admonition, and the like. This variety of the subjunctive is almost always found after verbs of Class A, 2, as *gelæran*, *Or.*, 124, 2, he gelærde ealle Crecas þæt hie Alexandre *wiðsocen;* similarly after *swerian*, *Or.*, 190, 22; *clypian*, *AH.*, I, 425, 33; *geleornian*, *CP.*, 32, 22; *manian*, 191, 12; *healsian*, *Bede*, 372, 7; *tiean*, *gesettan*, *warnian*, etc. As most of the verbs of Class A, 1 have the force of commands besides their usual signification of simple utterance, they are also followed by this subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 166, 13, cweð to þisum stanum þæt hi *beon* awende to hlafum; similarly after *cyðan*, *CP.*, 189, 1; after *secgan*, 215, 6.

(2) Closely related to the use of the subjunctive in expressions of the will is its use in expressions of design or intention. When the idea of design is not present in the governing verb (as with simple verbs of saying), it is generally expressed by the use of the periphrastic construction with *willan* in the dependent clause; but after verbs of design the simple subjunctive is generally employed, though the moment of intention is frequently emphasized by the use of *willan: AH.*, I, 484, 6, we sculon hogian þæt we simle ðone maran gylt *forfleon* þurh aitfere; *Or.*, 188, 13, þencende þæt he hine *beswice;* likewise with *hycgan*, *Gen.*, 297; *secan*, *John*, VII, 4; *smeagan*, *Mark*, XII, 12.

(3) As the subjunctive is the regular expression of contingency or uncertainty, it is the favorite mood after verbs of thinking and believing [Class B], where in general the event narrated in the dependent sentence is future with reference to the action of the governing verb. The subjunctive is, therefore, used with almost entire exclusion of the indicative after *wenan*, *ondrædan*, *þyncan*, *gyman*, *geornian*, and the like; as *Or.*, 104, 27, on þam tohopan þæt hie symle siðe God þonan *ado* to heora agnum lande; *AH.*, II, 310, 28, þæt he truwode

on God þæt he *wære* acyrred. When future action is expressed in past time, the subjunctive is frequent after all verbs, as *BH.*, 159, 26, wæs cweðende þæt his sæd *oferweoxe* ealle þas woruld; similarly after *cyðan*, *LS.*, 174, 89; *geswcotolian*, *AH.*, I, 564, 22. After *gelyfan*, although the subjunctive is the usual construction, the indicative is used to record belief in an established doctrine; compare *CP.*, 111, 11, with *AH.*, I, 26, 8 [see *geliefan*]. Quite a number of governing verbs have a double meaning, according to the mood and tense of the dependent verb; as *geðencan* with the meaning of design followed by the subjunctive of the dependent verb, as *Matt.*, VI, 27, mæg geðencan þæt he *geeacnige* ane elne to his anlicnesse; but with the meaning of simple remembrance, when followed by the present or past indicative, as *Matt.*, V, 23, þu þær geðencest þæt þin broðor *hæfð* ænig þing agen þe; *CP.*, 53, 17, is to geðencenne þæt he *underfeng* martyrdom. In like manner compare *gemunan* with the subjunctive in *BH.*, 73, 26, with the same verb followed by the indicative in *Boe.*, 164, 18.

(c.) The subjunctives of the third class are due to other causes than the direct influence of the governing verb. Although subject to some variation, the subjunctive is used when moments of interrogation, negation, condition, concession, and the like, enter into the expression, either in connection with the main clause or in the dependent sentence; as *Boe.*, 208, 8, hwæðer þu ongite þæt ælc yfelwillende mon *sie* wites wyrðe?; *LS.*, 502, 542, ic næfre gyt nyste þæt ænig oþer byrig us *wære* gehende; *El.*, 441, gif þæt gelimpe on lifdagum þæt þu *gehyre* frode frignan; *Boe.*, 242, 6, ic wat gif se delfere þa eorðan na ne dulfe, þonne ne *funde* he hit no; *W.*, 227, 8, þeh hwam gebyrige þæt his fyr ut *gewite*; *Boe.*, 160, 2, ær þu me gerehtest þæt þæt *wære* soð God; similarly *CP.*, 119, 13; 195, 15; 199, 7; 285, 3; 341, 1; *Boe.*, 16, 31; 34, 11; 210, 8; *W.*, 3, 3; 273, 11; *AH.*, II, 234, 12; *Bede*, 374, 26; *BH.*, 181, 3; *Matt.*, XXIV, 43; *Luke*, XII, 36; *An.*, 714. It is more than probable that in many cases attraction to a subjunctive in the governing clause has exercised considerable influence in the

employment of the like mood in the dependent clause, as *AH.*, I, 328, 26, gif hit gylt nære þonne ne *gewutelode* þæt halige godspel þæt he *wære* mid purpuran geglencged.

A less frequent use of the subjunctive is to express a simple assumption; this is seen in its most common form after the introductory expression *þæt is* common in the *Cura Past.;* as 383, 4, þæt is þæt mon his sweord *doo* ofer his hype þæt mon his lare *læte;* 9, ðæt is ðæt mon *ierne* ðurh midde þa ceastre, ðætte mon swa emn *sie* betweox cristenum folce. Closely connected with this is the employment of the subjunctive to express indefinite action, as is well illustrated by its use after *ðeaw* instead of the regular indicative, as *Wand.*, 11, ic wat þæt bið on eorle ðeaw þæt he his ferd-lucan fæste *binde.*

A distinction is to be observed between the subjunctives of this kind and those previously considered; while the latter are to be found only after special classes of verbs, the former may occur after all introductory expressions; its use is however most clearly marked after verbs of direct perception, since these have least subjective color and the passage of the subjunctive idea from the main to the subordinate clause is more distinctly observable.

2. *The Indicative.*

(*a*) Verbs of saying, reporting, and the like [Class A, 1] are in the writings of the Alfredian period generally followed by the indicative only when the event recorded is presented in an emphatic and objective manner; hence the variation is use of mood after *cweðan*, *secgan*, etc. By the time of Ælfric, however, the levelling influence of the indicative has made considerable progress, so that there is a noticeable use of this mood where the subjunctive would have been required at an earlier period; to this tendency rather than to the simple objectivity of statement are due the numerous instances of the indicative after verbs of simple report in late Anglo-Saxon.

Some of these verbs, however, have an inherent power of emphasizing the reality of the statements they record and are

generally followed by the indicative; such are *cyðan, tacnian, sweotolian, gereccan,* and *bodian;* as *CP.*, 409, 19, mid ðæm worde he cyðde ðæt hit *is* se hiehsta cræft; similarly 295, 23; *Beow.*, 1973; *AH.*, I, 116, 9; 246, 16; *Boe.*, 160, 1.

The indicative is often found in the dependent clause after verbs which require the subjunctive, when this clause is separated from the governing verb by another clause, since the subordinating force of the leading verb is in this way apparently weakened, as *Boe.*, 140, 15, ic ær sæde þæt sio soðe gesælþ *wære* God and of þære soðan gesælþ *cumeð* eall þa oðre god; similarly *BH.*, 29, 15; *AH.*, I, 532, 29; *CP.*, 107, 18.

After verbs of command and petition [Class A, 2] the indicative is seldom found; in most of its occurrences it denotes the result of an action prompted by the will, as *BH.*, 191, 13, me bædon and lærdon Romane þæt ic *gewat* heonan onweg; *Beow.*, 1662, me geuðe þæt ic on wæge *geseah* wlitig hangian eald sweord eacen; 2873, him god uðe þæt he him sylfum *geworce* ana mid ecge; similarly *AH.*, II, 594, 15; *Or.*, 148, 4; 262, 19.

An indicative is occasionally set over against a subjunctive to distinguish a true from a false statement; as *AH.*, I, 328, 18, ne sæde þæt halige godspell þæt se rica reafere *wære*, ac *wæs* uncystig; 364, 15, sume men cweðað þæt þu *sy* Iohannes, sume secgað þæt þu *sy* Helias—ic secge þæt þu *eart* stænen.

(*b*) After verbs of thinking and believing [Class B] the indicative is rarely found: after *wenan* in the first or second person to express the assurance of the truth of the conception in the mind of the thinker, as *Boe.*, 146, 29, wenst þu þætte ealle þa þing forði gode *sint* þy hi habbað? 16, 27; *AH.*, I, 580, 26,—after *gelyfan* to express an established doctrine, as *AH.*, I, 26, 8,—after *geðencan* in the sense of remembrance, as *CP.*, 53, 17. It is occasionally used after other verbs to emphasize the reality of a statement; it is very probably for this purpose that the indicative is used in *Boe.*, 164, 16, over against the usual subjunctive in 12: me þinceð þæt þu *hwerfest* sume wundorlice spræce—me þinceð þæt þu me *dwelige* and *dyderie.*

(*c*) After verbs of direct perception [Class C] the indicative is almost universal; in a very few cases the true subjunctive

of indirect report occurs [see *Subjunctive*]. When moments of condition, concession, and the like enter, the regular change of construction is required.

B. The Moods in the Indirect Interrogative Sentence.

The Indirect Interrogative Sentence is distinguished in two ways from the Indirect Declarative Sentence—by the introductory particle and by the mood in the dependent clause. Only the first distinction is consistently carried out. There is great irregularity in the use of mood. When the dependent clause is truly interrogative in character, the subjunctive is employed; in a large number of instances, however, the descriptive rather than the interrogative idea is present and hence in mood they do not differ from the corresponding declarative sentences; yet, in some cases, the interrogative construction of the dependent clause calls for the subjunctive, though there is little or no trace of any distinct interrogative idea. The broad statement may therefore be made that the employment of the subjunctive in the Indirect Interrogative Sentence is somewhat more extensive than in the Indirect Declarative Sentence.

The most practicable division of Indirect Interrogative Sentences with regard to the use of mood is a two-fold one: (1) Expressions in which the relation of the contents of the dependent clause to the principal is a matter of inquiry, so that either a positive or a negative answer is expected; such clauses are introduced by *gif* or *hwæðer;* (2) Expressions in which the dependent clause is introduced by interrogative pronouns, adverbs, or conjunctions.

1. *Interrogative Clauses introduced by Gif or Hwæðer.*

Gif corresponds in use both to Latin *si* and *num; hwæðer* corresponds in use to Latin *num* and in form to *utrum*, to which, according to Maetzner, it is also analogous from the

fact that it introduces a double question. When an alternative is expressed or implied, *hwæðer* is employed; in the simple question *hwæðer* and *gif* are used at pleasure.

The subjunctive is the usual mood in clauses introduced by *gif* and *hwæðer*. This is the universal construction after verbs of inquiry, as *LS.*, 76, 455, axode gif he *oncneowe* þæt gewrit; similarly after *axian hwæðer*, *LS.*, 104, 264; *gefandian hwæðer*, *Or.*, 164, 28; *befrignan gif*, *LS.*, 74, 410. In these expressions the interrogative idea in the dependent clause is at its highest point. It is often found after verbs of direct report; after *cweðan* the clause introduced by *hwæðer* answers to the Latin indirect question introduced by *numquid*, as *John*, VII, 26, cweðe we *hwæðer hi ongyten* [numquid cognoverunt]; it often happens that the governing verb is not present and the expression corresponds to the Latin direct question introduced by *an* or *num*, as *Boe.*, 120, 6, hwæðer þu ongite? [an causas deprehendisti?]. Other examples after verbs of this class are *LS.*, 494, 116, gehwa moste cyðan *hwæðer him leofre wære; secgan gif*, *Matt.*, XXVI, 63. This construction follows some verbs of thinking, as *gieman hwæðer*, *Mark*, III, 2; *tweon hwæðer*, *W.*, 2, 5; 196, 11; *BH.*, 205, 9, etc. It is also quite frequent after verbs of perception, as *witan hwæðer*, *LS.*, 256, 293; *oncnawan hwæðer*, *LS.*, 534, 743.

The indicative is occasionally used with *gif* or *hwæðer;* as after *geseon gif*, *CP.*, 157, 16; *geseon hwæðer*, *AH.*, II, 414, 19. In *AH.*, I, 532, 25, he nat hwæðer he wurðe *is* into þam ecan rice, absolute ignorance is thus predicated; so with *cunnan*, *Beow.*, 1356, ne hire fæder cunnon hwæðer him ænig *wæs* ær acenned dyrnra gasta; it is also used when complete knowledge of a fact is indicated, as *AH.*, II, 228, 22, he gecnæwð hwæðer he *is* of Gode. The indicative is found after *smeagan* with the meaning 'to consider,' when there is a tacit assumption of the reality of the contents of the clause, as *AH.*, II, 228, 22, smeage gehwa gif þa beboda *habbað* ænigne stede on his heortan. The rare instance of an indicative after *axian* in *Mark*, X, 2, is due to the influence of the Latin: hine axodon

hwæþer *alyfð* ænegum men his wif forlætan [interrogabant eum: si licet]. When an alternative is expressed or implied the subjunctive is always found, as *LS.*, 256, 293, nyte we hwæðer se weardman *wære* æfre gefullod [compare *AH.*, I, 532, 25, above]; *John*, VII, 17, he geonsæwð hwæðer he *sy* of Gode, þe ic be me sylfum *spece* [compare *AH.*, II, 228, 22, above].

2. *Interrogative Clauses introduced by a Pronomial.*

General observations—When the interrogative idea is prominent in the dependent clause the subjunctive is used, irrespective of the character of the governing verb; as *Bede*, 178, 1, hwelc þæs cyninges geleafa *wære* þæt æfter his deaðe wæs geeyðed; similarly after *ætiewan*, *Bede*, 292, 33; *witan*, *CP.*, 427, 21; *Boe.*, 46, 7; *gehieran*, *AH.*, I, 280, 2; *behealdan*, *Bede*, 288, 14; *understandan*, *AH.*, I, 214, 1. This interrogative construction also seems to favor a ready passage to the subjunctive when negative, interrogative, and similar ideas enter the expression; as, in a negative sentence, *El.*, 860, ne meahte hire Judas gecyðan on hwylcne se hælend ahafen *wære;* after a final expression in *CP.*, 75, 7, þæt he ongite for hwæs geðyncðum ðæt folc *sie* genemned heord; in a conditional sentence, *Bede*, 328, 19; *John*, VII, 51; *Luke*, VII, 39, etc. The subjunctive seems frequently to be due simply to the interrogative form alone, as *AH.*, I, 50, 36, is geswutelod hu miclum *fremige* þære soðan lufe gebed.

In most cases, however, the predicative idea is predominant and the indicative is the usual mood, as is often seen after *awritan* when this construction is employed not in its interrogative but in its highly descriptive character; this is specially observable after strong objective expressions as *gerecan*, *CP.*, 333, 16, and *bodian*, *CP.*, 163, 1, and after such verbs as *læran*, *W.*, 242, 13, and *rædan*, *LS.*, 426, 202, with the signification of simple verbs of saying.

These constructions may be divided into two classes:—

a. Indirect interrogative sentences introduced by pronouns or adjectives, as *hwa, hwæs, hwam, hwæt, hwilc, hwæðer*, etc.

After verbs of inquiry the subjunctive is the rule, as *LS.*, 10, 9, þa iudeiscan axodon crist hwæt he *wære;* similarly *axian hwa, AH.*, I, 152, 14; *frignan hwæt, LS.*, 174, 76.

After verbs of the other classes the subjunctive is employed when regularly required by the governing verb or when the interrogative idea is prominent in the clause, as *CP.*, 273, 5, þæt hie geðencen hwelce hi hie innan *geemigen* Gode; similarly *geseon hwilcne, AH.*, I, 580, 29; *secgan hwæt, AH.*, I, 386, 13. This mood is also used when the reality of the contents of the dependent clause is doubted, or when its action is regarded as indefinite or uncertain, either in present or in future time, as *Mark*, XV, 24, hi hlotu wurpon hwæt gehwa *name*. It is often due to the negative, conditional, or adhortative character of the expression, as *Matt.*, VI, 3, nyte þin wynstre hwæt *do* þin swyðre; *Luke*, VII, 39, gyf þe man witega wære he wiste hwæt and hwylc þis wif *wære*.

In most cases, however, the indicative is found when it is the regular sequence of the governing verb, and oftentimes the interrogative pronomial is scarcely to be distinguished from a relative, as *Boe.*, 88, 2, ic wylle gecyðan mid hwilcere endebyrdnesse he *gestaðolað; CP.*, 401, 15, ic eow secge hwæt eow arwyrðlicost *is* to beganne; 429, 24, hi ongietaþ hwæt ymbe hi gedon *biþ;* similarly *cyðan hwæðer, Or.*, 100, 8; *geðencan hwæt, CP.*, 37, 23; *witan hwelc, Or.*, 136, 20. "Es ist ersichtlich," says Mätzner [*Engl. Gram.*, III, 443], "wie nahe bisweilen der Fragesatz an dem relativen Satz streift; die Entscheidung liegt in dem Prädicatsbegriffe des Hauptsatzes und ist auf die Analogie mit der Satzfrage zu begründen."

b. Indirect interrogative sentences introduced by interrogative adverbs, such as *hwonne, hwær, hwonan, hwider, humeta, hwi, hu.*

The same rules apply in general to these expressions.

The regular subjunctive follows verbs of inquiry, as *AH.*, I, 18, 12, axode hwi he his bebod *tobræce: axian hu, AH.*, I, 182, 19; *befrignan hwær, AH.*, I, 78, 11.

The subjunctive occurs after other verbs when the interrogative idea is specially strong, as *Or.*, 260, 6, gesecge hwær ænig gewin swa *gehwurfe;* also *CP.*, 433, 14,—in indefinite or assumed expressions, as *CP.*, 45, 24, þenceað . . . . hwi hie ðara geearnunga bet *truwigen* ðonne; *Matt.*, XXIV, 3,—in a conditional or concessive sentence as *John*, XI, 57, hæfdon beboden gif hwa wiste hwær he *wære*,—after verbs which usually require the subjunctive, as *ðencan hu*, *CP.*, 41, 23; *smeagan hu*, *AH.*, II, 268, 7.

The indicative is in general use after verbs of report and of perception; here the interrogative idea is almost lost sight of and the attention is directed rather to the adverbial relation, as *CP.*, 225, 23, gif he him sægð hwonon ðæt *cymð;* similarly *CP.*, 163, 11; 419, 10; *Or.*, 24, 21; 210, 27; *LS.*, 302, 281; *Jud.*, 174.

The frequent use of the indirect interrogative clause introduced by *hu* deserves special notice; in most of these examples the attention is directed not so much to the interrogative relation, as to the manner of action or the simple occurrence of the event; as we should expect, therefore, the indicative is the mood employed; as *CP.*, 163, 11, he him gecyðð *hu* sio byrðen *wiexð* and *hefegað; LS.*, 302, 281, ne mæg man awritan *hu* oft se ælmihtiga God egelice *gewræc* his foresewennysse; similarly after *secgan*, *Or.*, 24, 21; *sweotolian*, *AH.*, I, 272, 22; *smeagan*, *AH.*, I, 308, 19; *ongietan*, *CP.*, 231, 16; *oncnawan*, *AH.*, I, 588, 8; *gemunan*, *CP.*, 5, 8.

A large number of these *hu*-clauses differ very little from the simple dependent sentence introduced by *þæt* and sometimes even seem to replace the latter, as *LS.*, 10, 11, nu ge habbað gehered *hu* se hælend be him spræc. The two constructions are occasionally found side by side, as *Jos.*, II, 10, we gehierdon *þæt* Drihten adrigde þa readan sæ and *hu* ge ofslogen siððan twegen cyningas; *Chr.*, 58, C. 20, cydde *hu* his breðre hæfdon wroht an minstre and *þæt* hi hæfdon gefrerd wið cyning; *AH.*, II, 486, 25, to secganne *hu* Adam wearð on Deofles ðeowdome gebroht and *þæt* se mildheorta God forgeaf þam mannum þe

hine ænne wurðiað; similarly in *Luke*, VII, 39, he wiste *hwelc* and *hwæt* þis wif wære, *þæt* heo synful is; also *LS.*, 28, 77.

By a careful comparison of the *hu*-clauses with the indirect declarative sentence introduced by *þæt*, it will be found that the two constructions are not used indiscriminately: *hu* has a definite sylistic value; it is the concrete, vivid introduction as opposed to the colorless *þæt*. In the words of Mätzner (*Engl. Gram.*, III, 445), "Jenes (*þæt*) fasst einfach die Thatsache zusammen, während dieses (*hu*) malerich an den sinnfälligen Verlauf oder die Weise der Thatsache erinnert." From a rhetorical standpoint, therefore, the construction introduced by *hu* is a most important means of graphic and picturesque representation and the frequency of its employment in Anglo-Saxon attests the value set upon it as a stylistic device. It is a common construction at all periods of the language, but the translator of the *Pastoral Care* shows a peculiar fondness for its use, especially when he exercises his power of description; how vivid a picture does he in this way present to us of the gladsome days of old in England: ic geseah *hu* þa ciricean giond eall Angelcynn stodon madma and boca gefylde [*CP.*, 5, 8]; me com swiðe oft on gemynd *hwelce* wiotan iu wæron giond Angelcynn, and *hu* gesæliglica tida ða wæron giond Angelcynn; and *hu* þa kyningas Gode and his ærendwrecum hersumedon; and *hu* him ða gespeow ægðer ge mid wige ge mid wisdome; and eac ða godcundan hadas *hu* georne hie wæron; and *hu* man utanbordes wisdom and lare hieder on lond sohte, and *hu* we hie ne sceoldon ute begietan gif we hie habban sceoldon [*CP.*, 3, 2 ff.].

IV. The Use of the Auxiliaries.

Sculan.

The original signification of *sculan* was a sense of duty. This original conception has suffered considerable transferrence in

meaning, until there remains only the idea of compulsion which easily passes over to that of cause, of occasion, and even of possibility.[1]

The signification of duty or obligation in *sculan* is very strong in Anglo-Saxon; indeed there are few instances of its occurrence where this idea is not present to a greater or less extent; it is found after verbs of all classes, as *CP.*, 55, 19, he þenceð þæt he *sciele* monig god weorc þæron wyrcan; *W.*, 298, 2, nyte ge ful georne þæt ælc mon *scel* hyran his hlaforde?; similarly after *secgan*, *AH.*, II, 604, 22; *geswcotolian*, *AH.*, I, 382, 17; *þyncan*, *CP.*, 57, 7; *gehieran*, *AH.*, II, 544, 27; *geleornian*, *Bede*, 76, 7.

The conception of duty imposed upon one by a person other than the subject of *sculan* is found in expressions in which the governing verb denotes command, prohibition, or admonition, as *Or.*, 44, 8, het secgan þæt hie *sceoldon* þæt land æt him alesan; similarly after *beodan*, *AH.*, I, 246, 20, bead þæt ælc man swa don *sceolde;* after *cweðan*, *AH.*, I, 424, 9; *awritan*, *AH.*, I, 174, 20; *gesettan*, *AH.*, I, 150, 21; *gelæran*, *CP.*, 131, 3; *hatan*, *LS.*, 200, 92; *manian*, *CP.*, 97, 11. It is the common construction after such expressions in the indirect interrogative sentence, as *AH.*, II, 250, 4, wolde him æteowian hu he oðrum *sceolde* mannum gemiltsian on mislicum gyltum; *CP.*, 169, 20, Dryhten bebead Moyse hu he *scolde* beran þa earc; similarly after *reccan*, *CP.*, 73, 22; *anstellan*, *W.*, 218, 28; *gestihtan*, *CP.*, 99, 11; *getacnian*, *Bede*, 90, 5; *rædan*, *Chr.*, 246, C. 22. *Sculan* is also frequent in threats, as *Gu.*, 163, hwearfum cwædon þæt he on þam beorge byrnan *sceolde.*

From this idea of compulsion advance is made to that of the necessary occurrence of an event by reason of this exercise of force; hence *sculan* is used to express absolute certainty in future time and, as closely connected with this, is frequent in indirect expressions of prophesy; as *LS.*, 446, 97, þam wearð

[1] Von Monsterberg Münckenau, "Der Infinitiv nach *Wellen* u s w. in den Epen Hartmanns von Aue," *Z. f. d. Phil.*, 18, 148 ff.

geswutelod on swefne þæt he *sceolde* gefeccan æt Swyðunes byrgene his lichaman hæle; 152, 79, ic secge þæt þu *scealt* gewitan on þam sixteodan geare; *Or.*, 80, 35, we witan þæt we ure agen lif forlætan *sceolon;* likewise after *cweðan*, *CP.*, 329, 8; *cyðan*, *AH.*, I, 152, 19; *secgan*, *BH.*, 69, 18.

There is considerable difference of opinion with regard to the power of *sculan* to form periphrastic expressions of the future. Koch [*Engl. Gram.*, II, p. 31] holds that *sculan* with the infinitive was used as an expression of future time earlier than *willan* and infinitive, and that the former construction places itself alongside the simple present as a representative of the future in Anglo-Saxon, Mätzner [*Engl. Gram.*, I, 348], with his usual caution, does not go so far and only states that the use of *sculan* with the infinitive approaches very near a periphrastic expression of the future. Ælfric does not afford us much assistance here, though he shows that there was a distinct difference between the simple indicative and the auxiliary constructions, when he distinguishes *stabo* = *ic stande nu rihte oððe sumne timan* from *loquaturus* = *se þe wyle oððe sceal sprecan.* Lüttgens inclines to the belief that Ælfric here uses the auxiliaries to denote the various circumstances contained in the sentence which lead up to the event, and sums up his conclusions thus (p. 48): "lässt sich sagen dass dann wenn der Gedanke des Lesers der zukünftigen Handlung gilt, zu welcher Vorstellung er in Zusammenhang Veranlassung verschiedener Art findet, sich auch das futurische Moment in *sculan* geltend macht, dass *sculan* in solchen Fällen aber dann einer futurischen Umschreibung sehr nahe zu kommen scheint, wenn das Moment der Nötigung weniger beachtet zu werden verdient und kaum noch hervortritt." There are numerous examples of such expressions as *Bede*, 198, 9, ic ongeote þæt he hrædlice of þissum life leoran *sceal;* 188, 14, he seolfa onget þæt hine mon ofslean *sceolde;* similarly *Or.*, 86, 3; *AH.*, I, 152, 8; *CP.*, 93, 4. Most if not all of these statements lie on the border-line between prophecies and simple future expressions. After most verbs, ideas of necessity, com-

mand, and prophecy find so easy an entrance that it is impossible to state with any degree of certainty whether the construction with *sculan* represents these or the future conception. After verbs of thinking and believing [Class B] these ideas are more generally absent and we may speak with more assurance of the clear expression of futurity. In sentences like the following, then, there is the nearest approach to the modern periphrastic construction of the future: *CP.*, 433, 28, he gesihð þa gearwe ðe he wende þæt he *sceolde* ungearwe findan; *AH.*, I, 294, 1, we sceolon gelyfan þæt ælc lichama *sceal* arisan; *BH.*, 183, 31, wenstu þæt ic *sceole* sprecan to þissum men? similarly *W.*, 126, 18; 152, 20; *CP.*, 5, 22.

The construction with *sculan* used as a periphrastic expression for the subjunctive is rarely found except after verbs of design [Lüttgens, p. 18], as *CP.*, 41, 23, Þonne hie þenceað hu hi sylfe *scylen* fullfremodeste weorðan; similarly *Or.*, 216, 15.

A greater degree of development has taken place in the signification of *sculan* when used after expressions of custom; the primitive idea in this connection is evidently the obligation resting upon one to conform to a practice that has been sanctioned by continuous usage; hence the construction with *sculan* has come to be a common method of describing in detail a rite or custom, as *Matt.*, XXVII, 15, hig hæfdon heom to gewunan þæt se dema *sceolde* forgyfan þam folce ænne forwyrhtne mann; *AH.*, I, 218, 1, se gewuna stent þæt se sacerd bletsian *sceole* palm twiga. In the lengthy narration of a custom, *sculan* is inserted at intervals within the regular direct indicative narration, as *Bright's Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 43 [*Or.*, 20, 19], þæt is mid Estum þeaw þonne þær bið man dead, þæt he bið unforbærned and þa cyningas licgað bufan eorðan on hyra husum; and ealle þa hwile þær *sceal* beon gedrywe; þonne todæleð hi his feoh and alecgað hit on anre mile þone mæstan dæl from þæm tune; and *sceall* beon se læsta dæl nyhst þæm tune; þonne *sceolon* beon gesamnode ealle þa men . . . . and þæt is mid Estum þeaw þæt þær *sceall* ælces geðeodes man beon for-

bærned; and gif þar man an ban findeð unforbærned hi hit *sceolon* gebetan, etc.; similarly *Or.*, 70, 23.

There is another peculiar use of *sculan*, viz., in statements, the truth of which the writer or speaker will not vouch for, and, in some instances, in statements which he considers absolutely false. This use of *sculan* grows out of its subjective nature. The construction is not very common, but is occasionally found in most Anglo-Saxon prose writings; as *CP.*, 91, 8, sio godcunde stefn cwæð þæt hie *sceolden* leasunga witgian [quas divinus sermo falsa videre redarguit]; 431, 15, sæde Solomon þæt se mon *sceolde* cweðan; *Or.*, 206, 3, sume men sædon þæt he *sceolde* beon gefongen on hergunga oþþe æt wearde; *AH.*, I, 486, 5, sume gedwolmen cwædon þæt þæt heafud *sceolde* ablawan ðæs cyninges wif; *W.*, 197, 16,[1] ealle þa þe hæþene men cwædon þæt godas beon *sceoldan; AH.*, 572, 16,[1] sume gedwolmen cwædon þæt seo halige Maria and sume oðre halgan *sceolon* hergian ða synfuldan of þam deofle; *Boe.*, 194, 30, ongunnon lease men wyrcan spell and rædon þæt hio *sciolde* mid hyre drycræft þa men forbædon; sume hi rædon þæt hio *sciolde* forsceoppan; *LS.*, 526, 613, cwæð þæt þær gelæht wære binnan þære byrig an uncuð geong man þe yldrena gold hord *sceolde* findan; similarly *Bede*, 438, 32, gesegen wæs þæt he heora aldor beon *sceolde* [major esse videbatur eorum]; *Chr.*, 315, E, 19.

When the writer is narrating an extended story of this kind, he guards it either by the employment of *sculan* with every clause, as *Boe.*, 162, 4, ic wat þæt þu gehierdest oft reccan on ealdrum leasum spellum þæt Job *sceolde* beon se hehsta god, and he *sceolde* beon þæs heofones sunu, and *scolde* ricsian on heofonum and *sceolden* gigantas beon on eorðan sume, and *sceolden* ricsian ofen eorðan and þa *sceolden* hi beon

[1] These examples are cited by Lüttgens, p. 19, bb. as *Bede*, 495 and 196 respectively; the edition of the *Ecclesiastical History* he has used is that of Wheeloc, who has inserted parts of Anglo-Saxon homilies at frequent intervals in the historical narrative. It is in these interpolations that this construction with *sculan* occurs. *Bede* offers no instances of this construction after a verb of saying.

swilce hi wæron geswystrena bearn forðam þe he *sceolde* beon heofones sunu, etc.; or, more frequently, there is variation with the direct narration in the indicative, as in the well-known passage in the *Boethius*, 168, 3, þa sædon hi þæt þæs hearperes wif *sceolde* acwellan and hire sawle man *sceolde* lædan to helle; þa *sceolde* se hearpere weorþan swa sarig, *teah* to wuda and *sæt* and *weop* and *hearpode* . . . . þa he þider com, þa *sceolde* cuman þære helle hund, etc. The original Latin is expressed in indirect discourse throughout. *Sculan* is therefore used here as a note of warning against the reader's belief in this narrative which the author afterwards characterizes as 'þas leasan spell.' In *Boe.*, 194, 13 ff., *sculan* is again used in the description of heathen belief; 13, licette þæt he *sceolde* beon se hehsta God; 16, þa *sceolde* þæs Jobes fæder beon eac God; similarly 19, 20, 29, 32, 34. An interesting example of this use of *sculan* in later times is seen in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, Act II, Sc. 2, "Tib hath tickled in Gammer's ear that you *should* steal the cock;" also in *As You Like It*, iii, 2, 182.

Sculan is occasionally used to express simple report in direct discourse; as *W.*, 221, 24, he sende þa birnende regn ofer manna bearn; þa *scoldon* hie swiðe nioh mid ealle forweorþan; *Beow.*, 1071, Hæleð Healfdena in Freawæle feallan *scolde;* 1261, Grendles modor seo þe wæter-egesan wunian *sceolde;* 2276, he gewunian *sceall* hræw under hrusan; similarly *Gen.*, 1776; *Gu.*, 75.

Willan.

The original idea contained in *willan* is that of volition; although this primitive meaning has remained to a greater or less extent in almost every occurrence of *willan*, there has been a strong development in the use of this auxiliary. Simple volition has developed into the stronger moment of intention and design, and expresses the subjective element in a promise; on the other hand, with a weakening of its original force, *willan*

is used to indicate future action and also to express prophetic utterances. Finally, it denotes a long-continued tendency toward a certain course of action, hence a habit or custom.

The use of *willan* to express a wish pure and simple is not very frequent in indirect discourse, since the other meanings of this auxiliary easily enter in to modify the statement. Some clear examples are, however, found, as *AH.*, I, 136, 2, hit is awriten þæt fela witegan *woldon* geseon Cristes to-cyme; *LS.*, 406, 372, sæde þæt he *wolde* hine wurðian for god; *AH.*, II, 298, 31, cwædon þæt hi *woldon* his lare gehyran; *Bede*, 438, 7, cwæð þæt he *nolde* his synna ondettan [respondit non se velle confiteri peccata sua].

The idea of volition necessarily contains in itself the element of futurity, and the moment of design is quite frequently subordinated to that of future occurrence. The less the original meaning of *willan* is felt, so much the more forcible becomes the future idea in the expression. The entire elimination of the element of volition in *willan* is very rare, but in not a few instances it has become so weak that the simple future character of the expression can hardly admit of doubt; as *AH.*, II, 482, 31, cyðað þe þæt ða Iudeiscan *willað* beon eowere gafolgylderas; *Or.*, 80, 20, write þæt hie *woldon* geornfulran beon þære wrace þonne oþere men; *CP.*, 257, 25, is awriten þæt sio wund *wolde* haligean æfter þæm þe hio wyrsmde; *Beow.*, 13 15, þær se snotora bad hwæðer him alwalda æfre *wille* æfter weaspelle wyrpe gefremman; similarly *CP.*, 57, 22; 387, 26; *Or.*, 76, 10; 136, 12; *Boe.*, 76, 22; *BH.*, 135, 4, 21; *AH.*, I, 480, 1.

Examples are far more numerous in which *willan* serves to express intermediate ideas between mere volition on the one hand and the simple future on the other. Most closely connected with the moment of volition is the use of *willan* with expressions of promise or threat, where this auxiliary is most frequently employed, as *AH.*, II, 26, 9, cwæð þæt he on Gode gelyfan *wolde; Gen.*, 47, cwædon þæt heo rice agan *woldon; LS.*, 416, 51, cwæð þæt he nolde his hæsum gehyrsumian; *W.*,

216, 8, Drihten self wrat þæt he *wolde* ealle synfulle men forbærnan; *AH.*, I, 22, 8, þa behet God þæt he *wolde* næfre eft eal mancynn mid wætre acwellan; similarly after *gebeodan*, *Or.*, 54, 21; *swerian*, 68, 27; *gebeotian*, 72, 29; *gesprecan*, 138, 3; also *AH.*, II, 172, 9; 246, 5; 502, 7; *Bede*, 126, 19; *W.*, 206, 1; *Chr.*, 212, A. 24.

Closely allied in meaning to this use of *willan* is its use to denote intention or design, as *Matt.*, XXVI, 16, he smeade þæt he hine *wolde* belæwan; XXII, 15, þa ongunnon þa Pharisei rædan þæt hig *woldon* þone hælend on his spræce befon; similarly after *þencan*, *AH.*, I, 196, 2; *smeagan*, 206, 19. When the moment of intention is conveyed by a verb of simple report, *willan* is almost universally used in the dependent clause, as *AH.*, II, 504, 1, sæde þæt he *wolde* his wiðerwinna beon; *Beow.*, 199, cwæð he guðcyning ofer swanrade secan *wolde;* similarly after *secgan*, *Or.*, 136, 14.

The employment of this auxiliary in expressions of prophecy is very near to its use as a representative of the simple future, as *LS.*, 342, 85, hi ealle cyddon mid wordum þæt se wuldorfulla Hælend *wolde* us alesan fram helle; *W.*, 251, 1, sædon þæt se *wolde* cuman of þam cynestole hider on þas woruld; 206, 9, Noe hio mannum sæde be þam flode þæt he (= flod) *wolde* ealle synfulle men adrencan; *LS.*, 104, 240; *AH.*, I, 588, 25.

It is to be noted as a general observation that in expressions of intention and design or of simple volition, the person of both the subordinate and governing clauses is usually the same, since the sense of volition is strongest when the speaker expresses his own wishes; on the other hand, in future or prophetic statements the element of personality is obviously less prominent, and the persons of these two clauses are most frequently different.

The less common uses of *willan* are as follows:—

To express customary or habitual action, as *Bede*, 318, 14, secgað men be hire þæt heo næfre linnum hræglum brucan *wolde;* *AH.*, II, 552, 31, ic wat þæt þu eart swiðe styrne man

and *wilt* niman þæt þu ær ne sealdest, and *wilt* ripan þæt þu ær ne seowe; 138, 3, þes halga man wæs gewunod þæt he *wolde* gan on niht to sæ; *CP.*, 419, 26, is awriten þæt se hund *wille* etan þæt he ær aspaw, and sio sugu *wille* sylian on hire sole;[1] similarly *Beow.*, 988; *Or.*, 112, 19.

In clauses introduced by *hwæðer* after verbs of inquiry, *willan* expresses the idea of preference, as *AH.*, II, 50, 13, axodon hi hwæðer hi *wolden* wiðsacan defle; *BH.*, 233, 26, axa hie hwæðer hie *woldan* to eorðan astigan; *LS.*, 376, 172, he mot afandian hwæðer his mod *wille* abugan from Gode; similarly 338, 29.

In some instances *willan* has no more force than to express a courteous deference to the will of another, as *LS.*, 506, 300, we biddað þe, leof hlaford, þæt þu *gehyran wolde* (instead of the usual *gehyre*) ure word; 532, 732, ic bidde eow þæt ge æfter me ane lytle hwile *willen* gan.

The two following examples illustrate very well the ordinary distinctions between *sculan* and *willan*: *Or.*, 44, 8, het secgan þæt hie oðer *sceoldan* oððe þæt land æt him alesan, oððe he hi *wolde* fordon; *W.*, 99, 26, sædon þæt he þider upp astigan *wolde* and englas hine þær underfon *sceoldon*.

Motan and *Magan*.

There is great irregularity in the employment of these auxiliaries; in most cases they appear to be used merely to form periphrases of the simple subjunctive. *Motan*, however, is specially frequent after verbs of permission as *alyfan* and *forgiefan*, and together with *magan* is very common in expressions denoting future or designed action, as after *smeagan* and *geþeahtian*.

To determine the relative proportion of the simple subjunctive forms to the periphrastic constructions with *sculan*, *willan*,

[1] Lüttgens wrongly regards these as simple futures, p. 84.

motan, and *magan* in indirect discourse, the following statistics have been made:—

	CP.	*Or.*	*Boe.*	*Bede.*	*Poetry.*	*AH.*	*LS.*	*W.*	*BH.*	*Gosp.*
Subj.....	278	265	189	350	211	489	253	214	153	156
Auxil.....	90	92	68	138	122	800	169	111	72	16

The conclusions to be drawn from these statistics are very evident. With the exception of the poetical passages, in which the endeavor to impart vivacity and energy to the statement calls for a more extensive employment of the auxiliary constructions, and of the *Gospels* where the translator held slavishly to his Latin original, a remarkable regularity in use is observed. Regarding *CP.*, *Or.*, *Boe.*, and *Bede* as representatives of Alfredian prose and *AH.*, *Boe.*, *W.*, and *BH.* as types of the language of the later period, the above statistics show that the relative proportion of the subjunctive to the auxiliary forms in the former period is as 3 to 1, while at the time of Ælfric the proportion is as 2 to 1. This postulates, therefore, a growing tendency in the language to make use of the auxiliary constructions, and this tendency was fostered by the gradual breaking-down of the old subjunctive forms, until in course of time the periphrastic constructions almost entirely replaced the inflectional forms. The language of the poetry in the use of auxiliaries is almost identical with that of the period of Ælfric. The *Gospels*, in their almost entire neglect of the periphrastic forms, correspond to no other literary style.

V. The Complex Indirect Sentence.

The complex indirect sentence consists of a principal and of a subordinate clause, the latter of which is either adjectival

or adverbial in character. Of complex sentences the *conditional sentence* is by far the most important and requires special treatment.

A. The Indirect Conditional Sentence.

The indirect conditional sentence in Anglo-Saxon offers peculiar difficulties in its treatment. The sequence of tenses is here more rigidly observed than is generally the case with most dependent clauses, hence many of the distinctions which would otherwise be determined by means of the tense of the conditional clauses are hidden from view by reason of conformity to the tense of the governing verb; as, *e. g.*, the simple logical condition following a verb of past time is thrown into the same tense as the true ideal or unreal conditional clauses. Again, the distinctions established by differences in mood fall into more or less obscurity by reason of the frequent occurrences of the subjunctive as the regular sequence after many governing verbs; for this reason well defined examples of unreal and ideal conditions after verbs in past time are very rare and it is often almost impossible to distinguish the ideal from the logical condition.

The usual introduction of the protasis is *gif*, with frequent occurrences of *buton* and occasional instances of *nymðe*.

In considering the indirect conditional sentence, the treatment will be, as in the general discussion of the indirect sentence, a threefold one, according to the character of the governing verb. It will be seen, I think, that this principle of division will serve to bring out more clearly the peculiar constructions of the conditional clause falling under these respective classes. Dr. Mather has shown, in his dissertation on the *Conditional Sentence* [Munich, 1893], that there is a variation in the conditional construction according as the governing verb is in present or past time; this distinction has also been kept in view throughout the discussion.

1. *The Conditional Sentence after Verbs of Saying*, etc.

a. The governing verb in the present tense.

(1). After verbs of simple report—Here, as in the simple indirect sentences, are found variations in the use of moods.

(*a*) Indicative in apodosis and protasis: *CP.*, 233, 16, þæm æfstegum is to secganne gif he hie *nyllað* healdan wiþ þæm æfste þæt hie *weorðaþ* besewde; similarly *AH.*, II, 318, 4; *LS.*, 456, 244. In indirect interrogatives, as *Ælfric de Novo Test.*, 12, 5, ic secge hu gif þu *wiltest* ealne þisne wisdom þonne *woldest* þu gelyfan; likewise *CP.*, 53, 10; *W.*, 222, 13. In *John*, XII, 24, the protasis is in the invariable subjunctive after *buton:* ic secge eow þæt hwætene corn *wunaþ* ana buton hit *fealle* on eorðan.

(*b*) The subjunctive in the apodosis, the indicative remaining in the protasis, as *Boe.*, 212, 18, hi secgaþ þæt hi *mægen* þy ðe heora wisdome fylgan gif hiora anweald *biþ* fullice ofer þæt folc; similarly *Beow.*, 1846. The foregoing constructions are generally to be regarded as logical conditions.

(*c*) The protasis and apodosis are both with the subjunctive; the protasis generally expresses an ideal condition as, *CP.*, 73, 22, we willaþ reccan gif he þær swelc *tocyme* hu he þæron lybban *scyle;* similarly *Bede*, 128, 25; *CP.*, 253, 8, eac is to cyðanne ðam mettrumum, gif hie *willen* geliefan, þæt hie ðonne her on worulde ðoligen earfeðu; the unusual subjunctive in the apodosis in the last example expresses problematic action in the future. There are also a few clear cases of the unreal condition with the usual construction of the preterite subjunctive in both members: *W.*, 228, 7, ic sæcge þæt ge *scoldan* ealle forweorðan, *nære* þære halgan Scā Marian gebed; *Beow.*, 591, secge ic þe þæt næfre Grendel swa fela gryra *gefremede* gif þin hige *wære* sefa swa searo grim.

(2). After verbs of bidding, promising, and the like, the apodosis, following the general rule, requires the subjunctive; the mood of the protasis is frequently unaffected by that of the

apodosis and remains indicative, as in direct narration, as *LS.*, 478, 104, behat me gif þin dohter nu hal *bið*, þæt þu hire *geðafige;* similarly *LS.*, 190, 353. In *LS.*, 6, 74, ic bidde nu on godes naman gif hwa þas boc awritan *wille*, þæt he hi wel *gerihte*, and *AH.*, II, 2, 20, the ambiguous form *wille* is used in the protasis; it is most probably to be regarded as subjunctive in a general and indefinite statement. In *Exod.*, 431, occurs the usual subjunctive protasis after *nymðe:* að swereð þæt þines cynnes rim ne cunnon ylde nymðe hwylc þæs snottor in sefan *weorðe*.

b. The governing verb in past time.

The most noticeable difference between these and the preceding constructions consists in the greater regularity observed in the use of the preterite subjunctive in the protasis; the indicative is entirely done away with when the regular sequence of tenses is observed; the only exception is found when the indirect clause is thrown back into the present, in which case there is a distinct tendency to retain the direct expression, as *e. g.*, *Mark*, XII, 19, Moyses wrat, gif hwæs broðor dead *bi*ð and *læf*ð his wif and *næf*ð nan bearn, þæt his broðor nime his wif. The corresponding passage in *Luke*, XX, 28, shows only a partial attraction of the verbs of the protasis: M. wrat gyf hwæs broðor *by*ð dead and wif *hæbbe* and se bið butan bearnum, þæt his broðor *nime;* and this transition is complete in *Matt.*, XXII, 24, sæde gif hwa dead *sy* and bearn *næbbe*, þæt his broðor *nyme*, etc. The mood in the original Latin is the past subjunctive in all the cases, save 'non habens filium' (*Matt.*) and 'habens uxorem' (*Luke*).

The usual construction in the conditional sentence after a verb in past time is the use of the preterite subjunctive in both members of the sentence, as *Bede*, 374, 25, sægdon and cyðdon heora biscope þæt him *licede* and leof *wære* gif hit his willa *wære; CP.*, 63, 23, þæt he sceolde beodan Aron þæt nan man to his ðegnunge ne *come* gif he blind *wære;* similarly *CP.*, 96, 3; *Or.*, 194, 11; 266, 9; *Bede*, 122, 34; 126, 10; 234, 31; 242, 31, 33; 268, 15; 274, 29; 306, 24; 308, 19; 316, 21; 328,

19, 34; 332, 11; 390, 19; 416, 17; *Boe.*, 170, 10; 248, 8, 9; *AH.*, I, 134, 13; 138, 15; II, 18, 23; 178, 23; *Mark*, XIV, 33; *John*, IX, 22; *Gen.*, 1443; *Gu.*, 1131.

In many cases ambiguity arises by reason of the similar forms for the indicative and subjunctive of weak and auxiliary verbs; the auxiliaries may be generally regarded as used in their subjunctival modal function, and though we cannot speak with certainty with regard to the ambiguous forms of weak verbs, they at least offer no exception to the general usage; as *LS.*, 36, 185, cwæð þæt heo eode to hire and hi *wolde* forhycgan gif heo þæt bysmor forberan *wolde;* 36, 204; *Bede*, 222, 18; 306, 22; 308, 19; 380, 2; *W.*, 18, 3; 209, 26. In the exceptional construction in *AH.*, I, 246, 16, bodode him þæt him *wœs* Godes grama onsigende gif hi so Gode bugan *wolde*, the indicative is used in the apodosis to give greater vividness to the words of the homilist.

After expressions of command, threat, or promise, an infinitive is often used to take the place of the apodosis, while the protasis retains the regular preterite subjunctive; as *LS.*, 42, 298, he het *acwellan* þone cristenan philippum gif hit soð *wære;* similarly 38, 214. In *AH.*, II, 308, 18, the inflected infinitive is thus employed: þa þywde se casere hine *to swingenne* gif he him *sœde* swa hwæs swa he axode; and in *LS.*, 174, 96, a substantive takes its place: behet manigfealde *wita* buton heo *wiðsoce* þone soðan hælend; similarly 72, 365.

Examples are occasionally found of adjectival and other subordinate clauses, that play the part of a protasis; the preterite subjunctive is regularly employed; as *AH.*, II, 338, 34, God gecwæð þæt ælc synn, ðe *nære ofer eorðan gehet*, sceolde beon on ðissere worulde gedemed ['if it were not atoned for it should be judged']; 244, 17, cwæð þæt him selre *wære*, þæt *he geboren nære;* likewise *Bede*, 394, 24.

In the indirect interrogative sentence the same general constructions are observed as noted above: *AH.*, II, 242, 16, befran hwæt hi him feos *geuðon* gif he ðone Hælend him belæwan *mihte; AH.*, I, 82, 17, cydde him hu he ymbe *wolde* gif he him *gemette;* similarly *W.*, 212, 5.

At times when a continuous action is expressed or the statement is of universal application, the conditional sentence is in the present tense after a preterite governing verb. Here also is observed a variation of moods similar to that which takes place when the governing verb is in the present, as—indicative apodosis and subjunctive protasis: *AH.*, I, 26, 17, cwæð þæt nan man ne *mæg* beon gehealden buton he on Gode *gelyfe*,—subjunctive in both members: *AH.*, II, 94, 29, gesette canon þæt nan mæsse-preost wifhades mann *næbbe* buton hit *sy* his modor,—indicative in both members, as *John*, XI, 40, ne sæde ic þe þæt þu *gesyhst* wuldor, gif þu *gelifst*.

2. *The Conditional Sentence after Verbs of Thinking, etc.*

a. The governing verb in the present tense.

(1) Subjunctive in apodosis and indicative in protasis. As the general mood of subordinate verbs following verbs of thinking is the subjunctive, a large number of present subjunctive forms in the protases would naturally be expected; on the contrary we find that the independent construction of the indicative protasis is more regularly observed than in indirect clauses after verbs of saying: *CP.*, 77, 1, is wen þæt hio ða oðre wiers besmite gif hio hire *anhrinð*; *AH.*, I, 124, 14, sume men wenað þæt him genihtsumige to fulfremedum læcedome gif hi *andettað*; likewise *CP.*, 339, 19; 425, 1; *Boe.*, 164, 1; *Beow.*, 442, 1185; *LS.*, 426, 181; *W.*, 302, 11; *AH.*, II, 344, 33; 420, 12.

(2) Subjunctive in both members; an ideal or future relation is here generally expressed: *Boe.*, 144, 3, he wenð gif he þonne lust *begite* þæt he þonne *hæbbe* fulle gesælþa; *CP.*, 185, 25, wenð gif he hit him *iewe* þæt he him *nylle* geðafigean; similarly *Boe.*, 66, 2.

(3) Indicative in both members: *AH.*, II, 70, 14, we ondræðað us þæt ge þas getacnunga to gymeleaste *doð* gif ge eow swiðor be þam *gerecceð*; *AH.*, I, 528, 21, ic wene þæt þas word ne *sind* eow full cuðe gif we hi openlicor eow ne *onwreoð*. Here

are to be placed such constructions as *AH.*, II, 462, 22, se ðe hungre acwelð we gelyfað þæt he *gegæð* Gode buton he þe swiðor forscyldgod *wære; W.*, 135, 14; the subjunctive is due merely to the use of *buton*.

There are a few examples of the ideal or unreal condition with the usual preterite subjunctive in both members, as *CP.*, 187, 2, ic wene þæt he hine *snide* slanclicor gif he him ær *sæde*. ['I ween that he would not have cut him if he had told him']. *Boe.*, 134, 20, 24, offers an excellent example of the change of construction due to the passage from the unreal to the logical condition, the preterite subjunctive being used in both members of the former and the present indicative in the latter: 20, hwi ne miht þu geðencan gif nan wuht full *nære* þonne *nære* nan wuht wana; 24, hwi ne miht þu geþencan gif þissa goda wana *is* ðonne *is* sum god full ælces willan.

b. The governing verb in the past.

The preterite subjunctive is here used very consistently in the protasis and usually the same form in the apodosis, though there are a few examples of the indicative: *AH.*, I, 82, 12, ðohte gif he hi ealle *ofsluge* þæt se an ne *æthurste;* similarly 124, 25. The independent construction of the preterite indicative in the protasis is occasionally met with, as *W.*, 260, 18, wendest þu gif þu me *sealdest* owiht þines, þæt þe þonne *wære* þin wuldorgestreon eall gelytlad; similarly *AH.*, II, 2, 11.

3. *The Conditional Sentence after Verbs of Perception, Happening, etc.*

a. The governing verb in the present tense.

The construction in such cases is very regular: the ordinary usage is a consistent employment of the present indicative in both protasis and apodosis, as *CP.*, 377, 1, hie witon gif hiera niehstan friend *weorðað* wædlan, þæt hi *beoð* ðonne fultemend to hiera wædle; similarly *CP.*, 273, 20; *Boe.*, 174, 24; *LS.*, 268, 92; *W.*, 155, 15; *BH.*, 181, 22; *AH.*, I, 528, 21. Whenever *butan* introduces the protasis the invariable subjunctive is

of course found, while the apodosis retains the indicative, as *AH.*, I, 96, 2, wite gehwa buton he his lustas *gewanige* þæt he ne *hylt* his cristendom; similarly *W.*, 49, 13; 270, 26.

When the ideal or unreal condition is to be expressed, the preterite subjunctive is used in both members of the conditional sentence; as *Boe.*, 242, 6, ic wat gif se delfere ða eorðan no ne *dulfe* ðonne ne *funde* he hit no; similarly *Boe.*, 210, 8; *Matt.*, XXIV, 43. The indicative is occasionally found in the apodosis, due doubtless to the strongly objective nature of the governing verb, as *Boe.*, 34, 11, ic wat gif þu me *hæfde* fullne anweald ðines selfes, ðonne *hæfdest* ðu hwæt-hwega on þe selfum.

b. The governing verb in the preterite.

Examples of this construction are not often found, but the subjunctive appears to be the mood in common use in both protasis and apodosis, as *AH.*, II, 454, 13, hit wæs gewunelic þæt gif hwæm sum færlec sar *become*, þæt he his reaf *totære;* similarly 166, 30.

In indirect conditional sentences after verbs in the present tense there is a noticeable tendency to retain the indicative in the protasis, especially if the governing verb is usually followed by this mood; and often, when the regular subjunctive is used in the apodosis, there is a seeming independence of expression and an almost complete retention of the direct construction in the protasis. On the contrary, when the tense of the governing verb is past, the subjunctive is very consistently employed in the protasis after verbs of all kinds. These separate tendencies are, I think, to be explained by the peculiar characters of the two tenses. In the present tense there is a nearer approach to direct narration in which the logical conditional sentence has always the indicative in the protasis, and in many cases the event narrated is presented as actually taking place before the eye. The past tense on the other hand has not this picturesque quality; the transition to direct dis-

course is not so easy or frequent; and, as the hypothetical statement contained in the protasis is made at a time remote from the vivid present and often with regard to an action in the future, there is naturally a strong entrance of the moments of uncertainty and unreality; hence arises the predominant use of the subjunctive in conditional sentences after a verb in past time.

The inversion of the protasis by reason of the omission of the conditional conjunction does not often occur in indirect discourse; examples are *W.*, 228, 7, ic sæcge þæt on þam monðe þæt ge scoldon ealle forweorðan, *nære þære halgan Scā Marian gebed*, and *AH.*, II, 68, 7.

With regard to the use and position of the conjunction *þæt* in the indirect conditional sentence, the following observations may be noted. In the arrangement, apodosis-protasis, the conjunction is universally placed before the apodosis, as *Beow.*, 591, sæcge ic *þæt* næfre Grendel swa fela gryra gefremede gif þin hige *wære*. In the arrangement, protasis-apodosis, the position of the conjunction between the two members is the rule, as *Mark*, XIV, 55, he bæd gif hit beon mihte *þæt* he on þære tide fram him gewite. Its position before the protasis is, however, quite common, as *Matt.*, XXIV, 43, witaŏ *þæt*, gif se hiredes ealdor wiste on hwylcere tide se þeof towerd wære, he wolde wacigean. There are only occasional examples of its position before both members; as *AH.*, I, 40, 34, hit wæs gewunelic *þæt*, gif ænig wimman cild hæfde, *þæt* mon sceolde mid stanum oftorfian. Since, in this arrangement, the principal indirect clause is separated from the governing verb by the intervening protasis, the conjunction is not infrequently omitted entirely, and it is sometimes difficult to draw any dividing line between the direct and the indirect conditional sentence. Of 114 indirect conditional clauses contained in various Anglo-Saxon writings, 54 had the arrangement, apodosis-protasis; in all of these *þæt* was used before the apodosis. In the 60 sentences with the arrangement, protasis-apodosis, *þæt* was used between the two members in 40, it was found only before the protasis in 8, while in two examples the con-

junction was placed before both members. In the remaining 10 *þæt* was entirely omitted.

B. Other Complex Sentences in Indirect Discourse.

With the exception of clauses introduced by *þeah* and *ær*, both the subjunctive and indicative are employed in the subordinate clause. Under ordinary conditions the indicative is used when the principal clause also contains an indicative and frequently even when its verb is in the subjunctive. The subjunctive is employed in the subordinate clause, when the latter is a hypothetical or assumed statement, when the modal idea that causes a subjunctive in the main clause pervades the subordinate, and also in many cases where the principle of attraction requires the same mood in the subordinate as in the main clause.

1. *The Subordinate Clause in the Subjunctive.*

The subjunctive is universally used only in two constructions: (1) In the concessive sentence, as *Bede*, 220, 29, ondette he þæt he wolde cristen beon, *þeah* he ne furðum þa fæmnan *onfenge;* similarly *CP.*, 99, 6; 415, 32; 423, 30; *LS.*, 34, 160; 36, 209; 266, 77; *AH.*, II, 246, 5. (2) In temporal clauses introduced by *ær* or *ærþam*, as *LS.*, 162, 244, het se æðela cyning þæt Florus hine gesprece ærþam he þonon *ferde; Or.*, 56, 19, aðas gesworon þæt hi næfre noldon æt ham cuman ær hie þæt gewrecen *hæfden;* likewise 50, 11; *AH.*, I, 136, 6; *Matt.*, XXVI, 34.

2. *The Subordinate Clause with Variation of Mood.*

a. The Adjective Clause.

(1) In the indicative.—The indicative is the usual mood in the adjective clause when the latter is used to make a simple, colorless statement with regard to a certain object; in such

cases the naked adjective or participial form could be substituted for the clause without detriment to the sense; as *Bede*, 136, 17, ic lære þæt þæt tempel and þa wigbedo þe we *halgodon* þæt we þa hraðe forleosan; *CP.*, 63, 14, geðencen þæt þa þe ðone *wilniað* þæt hie mid hiora ðingengum hefigre ierre ne astyrien; 79, 2, is awriten þæt mon sceolde writan on þam hrægle, ðe Aron *bær* on his breostum, þa lare; similarly *CP.*, 259, 4; 277, 19; 387, 16; 449, 17; *LS.*, 464, 388; *AH.*, I, 610, 13.

The indicative is specially frequent in adjective clauses when the verb of the principal clause of the indirect expression is also indicative, and is almost universal in sentences following verbs of perception, as *CP.*, 109, 14, ða lareowas ongitað þæt þa þe him underðiedde *bioð* him to hwon God *ondræda*ð; similarly *CP.*, 143, 1; 220, 16; 383, 34; *BH.*, 13, 22; 125, 13; *Bede*, 88, 7; 386, 18; *Boe.*, 102, 24; *Matt.*, 5, 32; *Mark*, III, 29; VII, 20; X, 42; *Wid.*, 131.

(2) In the subjunctive.—In indirect expressions after verbs of saying, of advice and command, and of thinking and believing [Classes A and B], the moments of uncertainty, of exhortation, or of supposition, which directly affect the principal indirect clause, often pervade the subordinate clause and cause its verb to be used in the subjunctive; the subjunctive in the dependent sentence is often due also to a general and indefinite assumption made by the adjective clause; as *CP.*, 85, 5, tacnað þæt eall, þæt þæs sacerdes andgiet þurhfonan *mæge*, sie ymb ðone heofonlican lufan; *Bede*, 80, 24, bibead þætte se wer se ðe *wære* his wif gemenged þæt he sceolde wætre bebaðad beon; in such cases this relative construction may be regarded as another way of expressing the condition than by the usual protasis introduced by *gif*.[1] Additional examples are *CP.*, 95, 23; 215, 21; 243, 10; 279, 11; 285, 23; *Bede*, 130, 2; *BH.*, 49, 15; *W.*, 24, 6; *AH.*, I, 50, 15; 338, 34.

Very frequently, however, the subjunctive in the subordinate clause is to be explained as due to attraction to the subjunctive

[1] Mather, *The Conditional Sentence in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 47.

in the principal clause or to the effort to maintain consistency of mood-sequence in the indirect expression, as *CP.*, 191, 4, geleornigen þa fæderas þæt hii gode bisne astellen þæm ðe him underðiedde *sien;* similarly *Bede*, 388, 10, etc. Considering the fact that the indicative of the main clause of the indirect expression is accompanied almost invariably by the indicative of the adjective clause, and the subjunctive in most cases by the subjunctive, it is evident that the part played by attraction is a most important one.

b. The Adverbial Clause.

The observations with regard to the adjective clause apply also in general to the abverbial clause.

(1) With the indicative.—*CP.*, 271, 10, mon sceal læran þætte hie, ðonne hie sumne unðeaw *fleoð*, þæt hie ne sien to wiersan gecierde; 388, 19, hit is awriten þæt ure Hælend, þa he *wæs* twelfwintre, wurde beæftan his meder; *AH.*, I, 38, 12, geswuteliað þæt þær wunað Godes sibb þær se goda willa *bið;* *Bede*, 228, 21, ic þe secge, forðam þu ne *woldest*, þæt þu scealt sweltan; similarly *CP.*, 385, 24; *Bede*, 200, 2; *Boe.*, 76, 22; *LS.*, 346, 154; *AH.*, II, 24, 6; *Matt.*, VII, 28; *Beow.*, 411.

(2) With the subjunctive.—*Bede*, 156, 22, bæd he hine þæt he him ðæs arwyrðan treos hwylcnehwego dæl brohte þonne he eft *come;* *Or.*, 18, 31, norðeweard, he cwæð, þær hit smalost *wære* þæt hit mihte beon þreora mila brad; similarly *AH.*, I, 110, 30.[1]

VI. The Order of Words in Indirect Discourse.

The characteristic features of word-order in the Anglo-Saxon sentence have been considered by C. A. Smith in his

[1] The above general observations must suffice for this subject. A minute study of the Complex Indirect Sentence is reserved for a future paper.

dissertation, *The Order of Words in Anglo-Saxon Prose;* Dr. Smith selects *Or.* and *AH.* as representatives of the earlier and of the later period of the language respectively. To supplement his work on the dependent sentence, I have given below in a tabular form statistics of the order of words of all indirect statements contained in the greater part of Anglo-Saxon prose works. The symbols employed are those adopted in Dr. Smith's monograph.

A. Order of Words in the Indirect Declarative Sentence.

	Or.	*Bede.*	*CP.*	*Boe.*	*BH.*	*Chr.*	*LS.*	*W.*	*AH.*	*Gosp.*
a' . . . . vb.....	164	285	159	102	157	29	149	173	330	171
b' obj. + vb.....	10	32	18	9	18	2	21	38	53	10
c' vb. + obj.....	29	65	68	70	51	12	65	91	199	68
d' vb.....	83	152	153	181	119	31	119	124	336	155
a obj. + aux. + vb...	6	8	2	5	5	2	5	3	4	1
b aux. + obj. + vb....	20	34	18	10	8	10	21	24	81	6
c aux + vb.....	29	58	60	27	39	12	31	33	87	10
d obj. + vb. + aux...	27	21	16	7	5	17	15	11	26	1
f vb. + aux.....	19	64	14	10	19	16	12	14	50	8
g obj. + aux. + vb...	1	0	1	1	0	0	4	1	1	0
h aux. + obj. + vb...	3	2	0	1	1	4	9	5	10	0
i aux. + vb. + obj....	11	13	15	17	6	17	20	14	61	4
j aux. + vb.....	10	26	36	24	21	12	33	46	99	14
k obj. + vb. + aux....	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
l vb. + obj. + aux....	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
m vb. + aux. + obj...	2	0	0	1	1	0	3	5	2	0
n obj. + aux.....	0	21	1	1	5	0	7	3	3	3

Now, *a'*, *d*, and *f* are regular exponents of transposed order, while *c'*, *d'*, *h*, *i* and *j* represent the normal order of the independent sentence. The remaining varieties of word-order here indicated may be left out of account as furnishing no aid to the establishment of any principle of order. From the above table, therefore, we find that the relative proportions of transposed to normal order are as follows:

	Or.	*Bede.*	*CP.*	*Boe.*	*BH.*	*Chr.*	*LS.*	*AH.*	*W.*	*Gosp.*
Trans.....	4	4	2	[1]	7	3	2	1	1	[7]
Normal.....	3	3	3	[3]	9	4	3	2	2	[9]

There is thus observable a general tendency at all periods of the language to hold to the normal arrangement of words in Indirect Discourse; and furthermore, this tendency is always on the increase, especially toward the later period of the language. There is a very curious predominance of normal order in *Boe.* not only in indirect declarative, but also in indirect interrogative expressions.

This tendency to adhere to normal order is further illustrated by the large number of instances of inverted order to be found in indirect discourse. Examples of these may be grouped under the following heads:—

1. In indirect imperative sentences where the original order of words is preserved, as *AH.*, I, 30, 1, se Romanisca casere sette gebann þæt *wære on gewritum asett eall ymbhwyrft;* or where the inverted order is also required by the precedence of an adverb or of an adverbial phrase, as *CP.*, 27, 8, wæs beboden þætte on Arones breostum *scolde beon awriten sio racu.*

2. Where the principal indirect clause is the apodosis of a condition, whether or not preceded by *þonne;* as *AH.*, I, 124, 5, seo ealde æ bebead þæt gif he nære swutelice hreoflig, *wære þonne he his dome clæne geteald;* gif se sacerd hine hreofligne tealde, *þonne sceolde he þancian;* similarly *CP.*, 383, 31; *W.*, 155, 15. In such constructions the retention of the original inverted order is almost universal.

3. When the indirect expression is a correlative sentence, as *CP.*, 463, 33, þæt is þætte þæt mod swa swa hit God forsihð, *swa secð hit his agene gielp;* similarly *W.*, 238, 4; *AH.*, II, 446, 24.

4. When a direct or indirect object or an adverbial expression directly precedes the verb of the indirect clause, as *AH.*, I, 516, 26, is geswutelod þæt ælcum geleaffullum men *is engel to hyrde geset;* 600, 19, he geswutelode þæt æfre *beoð him gecorene men;* 446, 6, Drihten cwæð þæt on his Fæder huse *sindon fela wununga;* similarly *Or.*, 72, 20; 148, 16; *Bede*, 216, 23; *BH.*, 153, 27; 203, 23; 217, 28; 219, 11; 225, 4; *LS.*, 524, 612; 528, 668; *W.*, 18, 8; 19, 2; 82, 4; 88, 19; 291, 14; *AH.*,

I, 228, 21; 406, 16; II, 12, 23; 152, 15; 464, 33; 562, 20. There is at times a perceptible effort to preserve the original order of words, especially in Biblical quotations, as *AH.*, I, 446, 6 [quoted above].

5. When the substantive subject of the indirect sentence is followed by a long attributive expression, the sentence is often continued after this expression in inverted order, reference to the subject being made by the pronoun, as *CP.*, 383, 34, þæt hi geðencen þæt wif ðe ða geacnodan bearn cennað *ne fyllað hie no mid þam hus ac byrgenna;* similarly 99, 6; 311, 14; 383, 33; *Bede*, 134, 18; *Boe.*, 20, 17; *BH.*, 29, 4; *AH.*, I, 134, 19; *Matt.*, VII, 28; XIII, 53.

Order of words when þæt is omitted.

1. Omission in the simple indirect sentence. Examples of this construction are very rare. Among the instances given in a former section [see *Omission of þæt*], there are several which cannot legitimately be termed indirect discourse but merely direct clauses introduced by verbs of command or petition, as *AH.*, I, 332, 12; 434, 13; 446, 13; *Boe.*, 40, 31; 98, 33. There are, however, thirteen clear-cut examples of true indirect discourse with no conjunction; the normal order is found in twelve, viz., *CP.*, 389, 11; 423, 19; *Bede*, 34, 8; 200, 25; *Boe.*, 82, 27; 182, 8; 192, 11, 29; *BH.*, 71, 25; *LS.*, 72, 273; *AH.*, I, 374, 4; *John*, XXI, 25. Transposed order is found only once: *Boe.*, 12, 22, ic wat ælc wuht fram Gode *com*, and this is probably due to the influence of the Latin: novi deumque esse respondi. We are at liberty, I think, to conclude from these statistics that Anglo-Saxon, like the Modern German, tends to return to the normal order whenever the conjunction is omitted.

2. Omission of *þæt* before the second or third coördinate clause of the compound indirect sentence. The arrangements of words in these clauses are as follows [examples of actual passage to direct discourse are, of course, excepted]:—

	a'	*b'*	*c'*	*d'*	*a*	*b*	*e*	*f*	*i*	*j*
CP.	10	2	4	10	0	0	1	1	0	2
Or.	12	1	2	7	0	0	1	0	2	1
Bede.	48	5	9	20	2	3	4	3	0	3
Boe.	7	1	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
BH.	33	1	5	4	0	0	5	2	0	0
Chr.	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	0
LS.	29	6	7	5	0	0	0	0	2	5
AH.	59	5	30	34	2	16	14	1	8	10
W.	48	9	13	15	0	3	6	0	1	3
Gosp.	12	1	7	10	0	0	0	0	0	1

Comparing these figures with the statistics given above for the ordinary arrangement in the indirect sentence, it is seen that the proportion of normal to transposed order is here not essentially different. In general, therefore, the omission of the conjunction before the second or following indirect coördinate clauses does not effect the order of words.

B. The Order of Words in the Indirect Interrogative Sentence.

The statistics are as follows:—

	Or.	*Bede.*	*CP.*	*Boe.*	*BH.*	*Chr.*	*LS.*	*W.*	*AH.*	*Gosp.*
a'	54	80	79	54	59	10	73	42	158	72
b'	3	0	2	2	2	0	1	5	16	2
c'	2	2	2	13	0	0	12	1	13	2
d'	8	8	21	22	8	1	19	10	48	17
a	1	0	1	0	1	0	3	1	3	0
b	2	5	2	2	1	2	2	2	16	2
c	33	3	64	5	5	0	12	5	18	0
d	8	11	6	6	4	6	7	14	4	4
f	4	19	27	8	4	5	6	20	5	5
g	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
h	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0
i	1	1	2	0	2	2	0	5	0	0
j	0	1	3	2	1	7	2	14	2	2
k	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	1	0	0
l	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
m	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0
n	1	1	0	5	0	1	0	3	0	0

The relative ratios of transposed to normal order for the various works are:—

	Or.	*Bede.*	*CP.*	*Bo.*	*BH.*	*Chr.*	*W.*	*LS.*	*AH.*	*Gosp.*
Trans.....	5	11	4	[13]	7	3	11	2	2	[4]
Normal.....	1	2	1	[8]	1	1	3	1	1	[1]

The Indirect Interrogative sentence shows a great difference from the Declarative sentence in its abundant use of the transposed order. There is, however, observable, though fainter than before, a tendency toward the normal order of words. The reason for this excessive predominance of transposed order is due to the fact that interrogative introductory words possess a strong subordinating power; each indirect interrogative expression is therefore felt to be truly dependent and the conscious effort to show this dependence occasions the frequent use of that order of words which most appropriately expresses the relation of subordination—the transposed order.

VII. The Infinitive Clause.

Anglo-Saxon shows a pleasing regard for variety of expression by the frequent use of the infinitive instead of the usual subordinate indicative or subjunctive clause.

The simple infinitive is not often found except after expressions of command or design. In such cases an accusative subject is at times associated with the infinitive, a construction corresponding to the accus. with infin. to be found in late Latin writers though unknown in classical Latin.[1] Only after *hatan* is the infinitive the prevailing construction, as *AH.*, II, 66, 22, het hi geedstaðelian þa burh Hierusalem [See *hatan*]. With

[1] J. G. Schmalz, "Lateinische Syntax," § 227, I. Müller's *Handbuch der Klassischen Alterthums-Wissenschaft*, II, 325.

other verbs of this kind it is less frequent, as *LS.*, 76, 439, bæd *hine* ealle *wacian; Jud.*, 58, þohte þa idese mid widle *besmitan;* similarly *AH.*, II, 182, 18; 254, 16; 262, 9; *El.*, 297, 979; 1018; 1101; *Dan.*, 359, 542; *An.*, 773, 779, 1614; *Byr.*, 170. The inflected infinitive is sometimes found, as *AH.*, I, 218, 30, circlice þeowas forbeodan *to secganne* ænig spel; similarly 122, 5; *CP.*, 55, 21; *Matt.*, XIX, 14.

Anglo-Saxon, like the other Germanic tongues, has some traces of the genuine subject-accusative construction,[1] but it is very rare: *AH.*, I, 590, 25, þæt þu wenst *me* for tintregum *geopenian* ðа gerynu; 48, 18, gemunde þæt godcunde gewrit, mannes *Sunu standan* æt Godes swiðran. After verbs of saying there is a near approach to this construction by the use of the accusative of the substantive and the predicate adjective, as *Gu.*, 90, þas eorðan *ealle* sægde *læne* under lyfte; similarly *BH.*, 165, 3; *Cr.*, 136. The extention of the subject-accusative construction in the later language is due to classical and romance influences.[2]

After verbs of perception this construction is more frequently employed than elsewhere, as *Wid.*, 101, hwær ic wisse goldhrodene *cwen* giefe *bryttian; Beow.*, 1970, geongne *guðcyning* godne gefrunon hringas *dælan; Dan.*, 1, gefrægn ic *Hebreos* eadge *lifgan; W.*, 2, 1, we geacsodon his *geceasterwunan beon* godes englas, and we geacsodon þæra engla *geferan beon* þa gastas soðfæstra manna; similarly *An.*, 183, 941, 1094; *Cr.*, 78; *Jud.*, 7, 246; *Beow.*, 2485, 2695, 2753, 2774; *Gu.*, 976, 1059; *Rid.*, XXXVI, 3. The subject-accusative in these instances is obviously used with more meaning than that of simple report, and it is necessary to bear in mind its stylistic character in order to get at the real meaning conveyed by these expressions: the traveller in his mind's eye views his queen distributing treasures as of old, the heroes in the *Beowulf* behold their youthful monarch engaged in the same gracious act, the poet of the *Daniel* brings before our eyes the picture

[1] *Ibid.*, § 224. [2] Mätzner, *Englische Grammatik*, III, 28.

of the happy life of the ancient people of God, and Wulfstan gives a vivid description well in accord with his highly rhetorical style. A glance at the other examples will establish the fact that by the use of this construction the writer portrays the events narrated in the strongest manner, as actually taking place before our eyes; it is mainly the picturesque style of poetry. When the more vivid expressions of sense-perception are used this construction is still more frequent, as *Gen.*, 2777, þæt wif geseah for Abrahame *Ismaël plegan; Cr.*, 797, gehyred rodora *dryhten sprecan* reðe word; similarly *El.*, 243; *An.*, 847, 992, 1004, 1009, 1448, 1492, 1690; *Rid.*, XIV, 1; *Wand.*, 46; *Cr.*, 498, 506, 511, 740, 925, 1154; *Dan.*, 726; *Gen.*, 661; *AH.*, II, 272, 16; 468, 18; *W.*, 199, 13.

By far the most numerous instances of the infinitive clause are those modelled after the corresponding Latin construction; it is to be observed that, with the exception of the infinitive after *hatan*, there is here an obvious departure from the general Anglo-Saxon usage, for the construction can be regarded in no other light than a slavish imitation of a Latin original. It is very frequent in *Bede*, very rarely found elsewhere; as *Bede*, 404, 21, he geleornode monna cynne *ingong geopenian* þæs heofonlican lifes [didicerat generi humano *patere* vitae celestis *introitum*]; 322, 19, ic gemon *mec* geo *beran* þa iidlan byrðenne [*me* memini supervacua pondera *portare*]; similarly 36, 17; 58, 9, 19; 80, 31; 82, 4; 84, 2; 88, 4; 138, 10; 178, 31; 186, 4; 190, 21; 206, 31; 232, 30; 264, 27; 266, 13; 270, 23; 286, 17; 288, 11; 308, 26; 310, 3; 316, 21; 320, 3; 322, 19; 326, 27; 330, 13; 334, 4; 340, 7, 14, 19; 344, 21; 34; 426, 8; 430, 12; 440, 1; 456, 24; 460, 3; 462, 18, etc.

As the translator of *Bede* followed the Latin in this respect more closely than any other writer, a careful study of this work will enable us to determine the exact influence of the Latin infinitive construction upon the Anglo-Saxon idiom. I present the following statistics: there are in *Bede* 331 Latin infinitives following verbs which act as introductions to indirect discourse; in 263 instances the Latin infinitive is rendered by

the regular Anglo-Saxon construction with the subordinate clause; in 68 cases only does the Anglo-Saxon agree in construction with the Latin, 28 of these are found after *hatan* (its usual native sequence), 8 follow *geseon*, 6 occur after *gehatan*, 4 after *gehyran; witan, twygean, gelyfan, gelimpan*, and *secgan* are each followed twice by the infinitive; while *bebeodan, biddan, beweriam, ætiewan, gemunan, geleornian, læran, onenawan, ongytan, tellan, þyncan*, and *wenan* are followed once by this construction. Since the infinitive clause is quite frequent after *hatan* and verbs of perception, we may conclude from the above statistics that the influence of the Latin infinitive construction upon the Anglo-Saxon is very slight even in the closest translations.

VIII. Relation of Indirect to Direct Discourse.

In all languages there has been more or less freedom in the syntax of the indirect sentence; the cause of this variation is due to the two different points of view with which these expressions are regarded; the interest may be centered about the speaker and the time when the statement is made, in which case regularity of syntactic structure is generally the result; in many cases, however, the attention is directed more especially to the statement itself, and oftentimes, by reason of this, all connection with the governing verb is lost sight of and the exact words or contents of the narration are given in direct form. This intermingling of the indirect and direct constructions is found in the earliest periods of language. The Hebrew shows a most primitive condition in that, without being preceded by the indirect construction, the contents of the statement are given in direct form immediately after the verb of saying. In the Greek (especially in Homer, see *Iliad*, 368 ff.) there are frequent instances in which a governing verb of saying is followed by a series of indirect clauses, and at last the direct words are taken from the mouth of the speaker to give a more energetic conclusion. Latin furnishes numerous examples of

the same construction: "It must be remembered," says Prof. Gildersleeve [*Latin Grammar*, § 652, Rem. 1], "that Oratio Obliqua is necessarily less accurate in its conception than Oratio Recta, and hence it is not always possible to restore the Oratio Recta from the Oratio Obliqua with perfect certainty; hence, when accuracy is aimed at, the narrator takes the point of view of the speaker, and at last passes over to Oratio Recta." Similar constructions are found in Old High German and Slavic.

In Anglo-Saxon this transition to direct discourse is by no means infrequent; it is due to a great extent to the requirements of style; the advantages to be derived from its use are obvious: it is less cumbersome, more accurate, and lends a greater degree of vivacity to the narrative.

It is employed in some cases to emphasize an important or contrasted statement, as *LS.*, 36, 185, cwæð þæt heo eode to hyre licgendre on læceshiwe and hi wolde forhycgan gif heo þæt bysmor forberan wolde, *ac ic hrymde sona mid sarlicre stæmne; AH.*, I, 596, 30, cweðende þæt swa halig man hangian ne sceolde; sæðele lareow ne sceolde swa þreowian, ac sceolde beon alysed, *forðam ðe he ne geswicð soð to bodigenne.*

It is very frequent after expressions of saying, happening, and the like, when the narrative consists of a number of coördinate clauses; the indirect form is regularly employed in the first or first few clauses and the remaining statements use the direct construction, as *AH.*, I, 452, 12, cwæð þæt seo fyrd wicode wiþ þa ea Eufraten, and seafon weard-sett wacodon ofer þone casere. *Þa com þær stæppende sum uncuð cempa and hine ðurhdyde, and Iulianus þa forswealt;* 230, 19, we rædað þæt þa heafod-men gebrohton Cristes apostolas on cwearterne, *þa on niht com him to Godes engel*, etc.; 44, 9, we rædað þæt þa apostolas gehadodon seofon diaconas; *þæra diacona wæs se forma Stephanus. He wæs swiðe geleafful*, etc.; *CP.*, 379, 6, ðæt is se cwide hu mon þæt feoh befæste þæm ciepmen ðe he scolde forðsellan to wæstme, *and þa forðy ðe he forwandode . . . . þa geaf he hit to unðances and his eac micelne dem; AH.*, I,

152, 2, her is geræd on þisum godspelle þæt se Hælend gename onsundron his twelf leorning-cnihtas and cwæð to him . . . . *þa nyston his leorning-cnihtas nan andgiet; LS.*, 488, 16, þa gelamp hit æt sumum cyrre þæt he ferde into anre byrig þe mon constantinopolim nemneð; and þanon into Efese; *þa he ða þreo burga gefaren hæfde þa het gelangian him*, etc.; similarly *CP.*, 181, 18; *Chr.*, 373, E, 36; *Bede*, 352, 15; *BH.*, 213, 29; *W.*, 221, 7, 10; 223, 8; 227, 15; 233, 2; *AH.*, I, 114, 1; 152, 2; 340, 23; 470, 14; II, 96, 19; 104, 30; 272, 13; 296, 2; 542, 18.

In *Chr.*, 84, 39, we notice the rare example of the direct together with the indirect expression in the first dependent clause: þa cwædon hie þæt hie þæs ne onmunden *þon ma þe eowre geferan þe mid þam cyninge ofslægene wæron.* [A and C, *eowre;* B, D, E, *heora.*]

One of the finest passages that can be selected to illustrate the transition to direct discourse is the well-known account of the voyages of Othere and Wulfstan [*Bright's Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 42; *Or.*, 19, 32]. The introductory verb is *secgan;* the narrative is a long one, and it can be seen that if indirect discourse were kept throughout, the manner of narration would be simply intolerable. Let us note the steps taken by the writer to present the statement in an acceptable form. The first two sentences follow the laws of indirect speech in every particular: Wulfstan sæde þæt he *gefere* of Hæðun, þæt he *wære* on Truso, etc. As the formal connection with the governing verb becomes less distinct, the indicative is employed: þæt þæt scip *wæs* ealne weg yrnende under segle. From this point on the narrative is continued by giving the substance of Wulfstan's description: Wenoðland *him* wæs on steorbord and on bæcbord *him* wæs Langoland; and finally his exact words are quoted: and þonne Burgenda land wæs *us* on bæcbord and Wenoðland wæs *us* ealne weg on steorbord. In *Boe.*, 166, 27 ff. and 194, 2 ff. there is a like use of indirect and direct constructions after *gelympan* and *gebyrian;* the general sense of indirect report is expressed by the occasional

insertion of *secgan* with the dependent construction in the following clause, and by the use of *sculan*. A similar construction is found in *Bede*, 154, 23–28. The parenthetical insertion of *he cwæð* to preserve the sense of quoted statement is seen in *W.*, 89, 8, he sæde eac þæt þeoda sceoldan winnan heom betweonan and fela eorð-styrunga geweorðan on worulde, and þæt beoð þas angin, *he cwæð*, þara sarnessa.

In many instances, however, these constructions can be regarded in no other light than as direct discourse introduced by a verb of saying or happening; but, instead of the entire preservation of the direct form, the clause immediately following the introductory verb falls into the indirect construction, while the remaining part of the statement is retained in its original form; as *Boe.*, 216, 19, swa mon segð þæt an næddre wære þe hæfde nigon heafda, *and simle gif mon ænra hwilc ofsloh, þonne weoxon þæt seofon; þa gebyrede hit þæt þær com se foremære Erculus to; þa ne mihte he geðencan hu*, etc.; *AH.*, II, 372, 1, Gregorius sæde þæt se mon se ðe ða micelan feorme worhte is ure Hælend Crist; *he sende his þeowan to lætigenne manncynn; and ælc þe þa boda*ð *is Godes bydel;* similarly 330, 24; 354, 29; *Matt.*, XVI, 18; *W.*, 156, 7; 205, 5; also many of the examples introduced by *gelimpan*, and the like, indicated in a preceding paragraph. The indirect construction is occasionally followed by a long stretch of direct discourse, giving merely the contents of the statement; as *AH.*, II, 332, 9, Paulus awrat þæt he *wære* gelædd up to heofonum *oððæt he becom to þære ðriddan heofonan; and he wæs gelæd to neorxna wange and þær þa gastlican dygelnysse gehyrde and geseah*, etc.

In expressions introduced by verbs of command and petition, there is a decided gain in style by bringing in the direct imperative form after the usual indirect sequence with the subjunctive; as *CP.*, 213, 14, ic eow healsige þæt ge us to hrædlice ne *sien* ætyrede from gewitte, ne *ondrædað* for nanes mannes wordum [rogamus vos ut non cito moveamini a vestro sensu]; *AH.*, I, 334, 25, Ic bidde eow þæt ge *beon gemyndige* ðæs Lazares reste, and *doð* swa swa Crist sylf tæhte; *Boe.*,

260, 2, Ic bidde þæt þu me *gewissige* bet þonne ic awyrhte to þe, and *gewissa* me to þinum willan and *gestaðela* min mod and *gestranga* me; *W.*, 229, 6, Ic hate þæt ge *gangen* to minum ciricum, and þær ge eower geswinc *sellaþ*; *AH.*, II, 20, 20, Ic sette nu þis gebann on eallum minum þæt nan man ne *beo* swa dyrstig þæt he ænig word cweðe . . . . gif hit hwa þonne doð, he *sceal* þolian his æhte; 296, 2, Ic þe bebeode þæt þu *gewite* of þyssere stowe and *far* to Westene, and þu nanum men on þinum fram-fære ne *drece*; *LS.*, 240, 32, þa cwæð se dema þæt hi oðer þæra *dydon*, swa hi þam godum *geoffrodon* and arwurðnysse hæfdon, swa hi þa offrunga *forsawon* and gescynde wurdon; *smeaga* nu, etc.

The transition from the subjunctive to the indicative in the second and following coördinate clauses after a verb of saying or thinking is probably an application of the same principle that causes the passage from indirect to direct discourse; in such cases the conjunction *þæt*, the formal bond of connection, is almost always absent and the statement is naturally in some degree independent of the governing verb. This is of common occurrence in Anglo-Saxon; as *CP.*, 85, 26, oðrum monnum ðyncð þæt hie mæstne demm and mæste scande ðrowigen and hie forswencte *beoð* for worulde; 107, 18, ic cwæð þæt æghwelc monn *wære* gelice oðrum acenned, ac sio ungelicnes hira gearnung hie *tiehð* sume [dixisse me memini quod homines natura æquales gemit, sed variante meritorum culpa postponit]; *LS.*, 62, 202, sæde þæt he næfre on his life ne *come* neah wife, ac *heold* his clænnysse; *Boe.*, 140, 15, ic ær sæde þæt sio soðe gesælþ *wære* god and of þære soðan gesælþe *cumaþ* eall þa oðre god; *Bede*, 164, 29, secgað men þæt þæt *gelumpe* þæt he *sæte* æt his undernswæsendum, and him *wæs* hefed beod [fertur quia consedisset ad prandium positasque esset in mensa coram se discus argenteus]; *BH.*, 159, 22, Mattheus wæs cweðende þæt Drihten *astige* on sume tid on anne munt mid mycelre werode and þa *gesæt* he on þam munt; *W.*, 240, 26, we wendon þæt þu *wære* godfyrht and *hæfdest* gastlice geberu beforan us; similarly *BH.*, 29, 15; *AH.*, I, 196, 33; 532, 29.

When an adverbial clause of time, place, condition, or concession comes between the governing verb and the principal dependent clause, the connection between the latter expressions is much weakened, *þæt* is frequently omitted and the principal indirect clause put in inverted order, with the use of the same mood as would be required in the corresponding direct statement; as *Bede*, 190, 8, sægde he þæt in þa tid . . . . *þa wæs geslegen sum leornung-man;* 161, 21, secgað men, þa Oswald biscepes bede, *þa wæs him sended oðer biscop; Boe.*, 142, 13, hu ne miht þu geðencan gif þa god wæron þære soðan gesælþe limu, *ðonne wæron hi hwæthwegu todæled; BH.*, 29, 4, geþencean we eac gif oðre nyten wære to halsigenne, *þonne onfenge he heora hine;* similarly *Boe.*, 210, 8; 216, 19; *AH.*, I, 134, 13; *Chr.*, 358, E. 26.

In late Anglo-Saxon, especially when allusions are made to the Scriptures or to the writings of the Fathers, there are frequent examples of the employment of *þæt* with the paratactic sentence. The direct narrative is evidently used here to preserve the exact words of Holy Writ and of the no less sacred patristic writings; as *AH.*, I, 360, 31, be him awrat se witega Iesaias þæt he *is* stemn clypiende on westene; 542, 19, he him behet þæt hi ofer twelf domsetl sittende *beoð;* 528, 30, Gregorius spræc and cwæð þæt ure Drihten as *manað* hwilon mid weorcum; efne he asende his leorning-cnihtas . . . . he *sceal* beon Godes bydel; *LS.*, 214, 79, se apostol behet þam þe healdað clænnysse þæt hi *synd* Godes tempel; similarly *AH.*, I, 338, 9; 364, 13; II, 394, 31.

Direct discourse with the conjunction is a marked characteristic of the *Anglo-Saxon Gospels;* it is due to the influence of the corresponding Greek construction with ὅτι, through the medium of the Latin;[1] as *Luke*, VII, 16, cwædon þæt mære witega on us aras. The same construction is also observable in the Gothic, due to the same cause: qiþandans þatei praufetus mikils urrais in unsis.

---

[1] See E. H. Spieker, "On Direct Speech introduced by a Conjunction,"—*American Journal of Philology*, V, 221.

Results.

The following is a brief summary of results established by this study of Indirect Discourse.

1. The use of the conjunction *þæt* in the compound indirect sentence is regulated by the requirements of emphasis or contrast; its use in the complex sentence is determined by the conscious effort to attain ease and clearness of style. The omission of the conjunction is mostly found in the complex indirect sentence with a preceding subordinate clause; in the simple sentence this omission is extremely rare.

2. The subjunctive of reported statement after simple verbs of saying is the rule in early Anglo-Saxon; but chronologically considered, the use of the subjunctive and of the indicative after such expressions vary inversely. In the Alfredian period, since the subjunctive is the usual mood of indirect discourse, the indicative conveys a decidedly objective conception; in the later period, the great levelling of moods under the indicative forms tended to limit the use of the subjunctive after verbs of saying to expressions of possibility, contingency, condition, etc.

The presence of an intervening coördinate or subordinate clause between the indirect clause and its governing verbs frequently weakens the sense of dependence and causes the use of the indicative instead of the regular subjunctive.

When the nature of the expression is objective, as is the case with verbs of perception, the indicative is employed in the dependent clause; this mood is also used after some verbs of saying with objective force, as *cyðan*.

The use of the subjunctive in the indirect interrogative sentence is somewhat more extensive than its use in the declarative sentence; it is employed when the interrogative idea is prominent and is sometimes due merely to the interrogative form; but, in most cases, the dependent clause has a descriptive rather than an interrogative force, and the use of mood is the same as in the declarative expression.

3. *Sculan*, in its original sense of duty or obligation, is frequently used in indirect discourse; from this is developed the idea of duty imposed by another, and hence its regular employment after verbs of command; its primitive meaning is further extended to denote an event sure of fulfillment in the future, and thence it easily passes into expressions of prophecy and even of simple future action. The duty implied in a conformity to universal usage accounts for its frequent employment after expressions of custom. As an indication of mere possibility, it is used to show that the truth of a statement is not vouched for by the narrator, and it is occasionally employed as a sign that the statement is false.

Willan has a somewhat similar development; from the expression of pure volition, it passes through the intermediate stages of promise, threat, and prophecy, to be used as an indication of the simple future expression. As denoting the action of the will for an indefinite period, it is used after expressions of custom.

In later Anglo-Saxon there is a decided tendency to indicate ideas of probability, contingency, and the like, not by the simple subjunctive, but rather by the periphrastic constructions with *sculan*, *willan*, *magan*, and *motan;* this tendency is greatly favored by the breaking-down of the old subjunctive forms.

4. In Indirect Conditional Sentences the subjunctive is regularly used in the protasis when introduced by *butan*, and in both members of ideal and unreal conditional expressions; it is the prevailing mood when the governing verb is in past time, especially if it be a verb of belief or command. After simple introductory expressions and verbs of perception the indicative is more frequently employed; this mood is also in general use whenever a governing verb is in the present tense, since in this case there is a decided tendency to revert to direct discourse.

The subjunctive is always used in complex indirect sentences introduced by *ær*, *oð*, and *þeah*. In other complex sentences there is variation of mood, dependent mainly upon the character of the governing verb.

5. There is a strong tendency, especially in later Anglo-Saxon, to employ the normal order of words in indirect discourse; adherence to the word-order of direct speech is further shown by the remarkable persistence of inverted order in the indirect expression. When the conjunction *þæt* is omitted in a simple indirect sentence there is almost exclusive use of the normal order, but the omission of this conjunction before the second or following coördinate clause of a compound sentence produces no affect upon the order of words. Transposed order is most consistently observed in indirect interrogative sentences, due probably to the conscious effort to express subordination.

6. The infinitive clause is mostly used after *hatan*, with less frequency after other verbs of command. The subject-accusative construction is in general use only after verbs of perception in the picturesque language of poetry; its occurrence after verbs of saying or thinking is very rare, and is mostly confined to direct copyings of the corresponding Latin construction; this method of rendering the Latin prevails, however, to no great extent even in the closest translations.

7. Transition from Indirect to Direct Discourse is very frequent in Anglo-Saxon. It is to be generally observed that the farther the clause is removed from the governing verb, its sense of dependence is diminished and there is a stronger tendency to revert to the direct construction. This transition is specially frequent when the statement is a lengthy one, by which means a long continuation of indirect constructions is avoided. It is often employed to emphasize an important statement or to establish a contrast, and has a distinctively stylistic force after verbs of command or petition.

J. HENDREN GORRELL.

LIFE.

I was born in Lexington, Va., on August 25th, 1868. In 1884 I entered Washington and Lee University and received the degree of A. B. in 1888. After two more years of study at the University I received the degree of M. A. in 1890. During the session of 1890–91 I was Instructor in English and Modern Languages at that institution. In October, 1891, I entered the Johns Hopkins University, selecting English as my principal subject, and German and History as my subsidiary subjects. My work has been under Professors Bright, Browne, Wood, Learned, Bloomfield, Adams, and Emmott, to all of whom I offer sincere thanks for many kindnesses. I desire to acknowledge my special obligations to Professor James W. Bright of the Johns Hopkins University and Professor James A. Harrison of the University of Virginia for their helpful sympathy always generously extended.

JOSEPH HENDREN GORRELL.

From Johns Hopkins University
Dec. 4. 9.

THE

ORDER OF WORDS

IN

ANGLO-SAXON PROSE

DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES
OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

CHARLES ALPHONSO SMITH

[Reprinted from the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, New Series, Vol. I, No. 2]

BALTIMORE
THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
1893

THE

ORDER OF WORDS

IN

ANGLO-SAXON PROSE

DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES
OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

CHARLES ALPHONSO SMITH

[Reprinted from the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, New Series, Vol. I, No. 2]

BALTIMORE
THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
1893

JOHN MURPHY & CO., PRINTERS,
BALTIMORE.

TO

MY FATHER,

WHOSE SYMPATHY AND SCHOLARSHIP

HAVE BEEN AT ONCE

THE INSPIRATION AND THE GOAL

OF MY STUDENT YEARS,

THIS MONOGRAPH IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED.

THE ORDER OF WORDS IN ANGLO-SAXON PROSE.

I. Introduction.

(*a*) Few subjects connected with Anglo-Saxon prose have been so persistently slighted as that of the position of words and clauses. The grammars either omit it entirely or touch upon it only in the most vague and general terms. No monographs treating the whole subject in all its periods and aspects have yet appeared, Kube's dissertation[1] being the only attempt, so far as I know, to investigate the word-order of even a single monument of Anglo-Saxon literature. But this work, though valuable, is awkwardly arranged, and devotes too little proportionate space to the subject of dependent clauses, the element of Anglo-Saxon word-order which offers the greatest contrast to modern English and which is therefore the most interesting as well as the most important. Kube's results are further vitiated by his having selected a monument written at long intervals apart and therefore incapable, if treated as a single synchronous work, of exhibiting any successive changes in word-order, or the word-order of any fixed date.

A more suggestive study than Kube's is that of Ries.[2] The latter not only treats the relative positions of subject and predicate as exemplified in Old Saxon, but mingles much else that is of value to the student of word-order in general.

For the general student, however, the most suitable book is that of Weil.[3] This work, whether one agrees with all the conclusions or not, is rightly called in the words of the translator, "a lucid and systematic introduction to the study of the whole question."

[1] *Die Wortstellung in der Sachsenchronik*, (Parker MS.), Jena, 1886.

[2] "Die Stellung von Subject und Prädicatsverbum im Hêliand," *Quellen und Forschungen*, XLI.

[3] *The Order of Words in the Ancient Languages compared with the Modern* (translated from the French by Super, 1887).

The extensive bibliography which Schultze[1] is able to give of previous investigations into the word-order of Old French shows that, in this language at least, scholars have not been slow to appreciate the importance of word-order in its general relations to syntax. Special prominence is also given to this subject in the last edition of Allen and Greenough's *Latin Grammar* (1891), Part II, Chapter VI. The first chapter of *Cæsar* is translated and an attempt made to illustrate the various shades of thought indicated by the position of words in the original. "This subject has only just begun to receive the consideration it deserves." (Preface.)

The aspect of Anglo-Saxon word-order most urgently calling for treatment is the rhetorical aspect. There are three norms in the word-order of every language:[2] (1) The syntactic, or grammatical, used as a "means of indicating grammatical relations;" (2) The rhetorical, used as a means of indicating the "relative weight and importance intended by the author;" (3) The euphonic. The last concerns poetry and may here be omitted, but Anglo-Saxon, a highly inflected language, could better employ position for rhetorical purposes than modern English; but what were the emphatic places in an Anglo-Saxon sentence? Were they the first (pathetische Stellung) and the last (signifikante Stellung)? Goodell admits the former for Greek but denies the latter. He declares that the tendency to emphasize by finalizing "prevails in French," is less potent in German, and that "possibly the tendency in English is due partly to the influence of French."

I shall not enter upon these rhetorical questions,[3] but I wish to emphasize the fact that till statistical results have been sifted rhetorically they can not have their full value, for there is a rhetorical as well as a syntactic norm.

[1] "Die Wortstellung im altfranzösischen direkten Fragesatze," *Herrig's Archiv*, LXXI; cf., also, Thurneysen's "Stellung des Verbums im Altfranzösischen," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XVI.

[2] See Goodell's "Order of Words in Greek," *Trans. Am. Phil. Association*, XXI, 1890.

[3] Cf., however, Ries, p. 2, for authorities on *Die Voranstellung des Wichtigen*.

(*b*) The results obtained in the following dissertation are based equally on a study of Alfred's *Orosius* and Ælfric's *Homilies*. The figures following the citations from the *Orosius* refer to page and line of Sweet's Edition for the Early English Text Society, 1883; those following the citations from the *Homilies* refer to volume and page of Thorpe's Edition for the Ælfric Society (2 vols.), 1844, 1846.

When the order of words is the same in both, illustrative sentences are given only from the *Orosius*. The *Homilies* are cited for differences, and for the illustration of principles not sufficiently exemplified in the *Orosius*.

By keeping the two sets of citations thus distinct, I have tried to bring out more clearly the growth of Anglo-Saxon word-order in the tenth century toward the norm of modern English.

In this discussion my effort is, as was Kube's, to find the syntactic norm. Although, for example, I give statistics for all possible positions of the dependent verb, whether influenced by rhetorical considerations or not, it is not to be inferred that occasional non-final dependent verbs in the *Orosius* show a tendency necessarily in conflict with the finals. In the following sentences, for example, Alfred, evidently for rhetorical reasons, places his dependent verbs immediately before the marvels that follow, so that nothing may check the full effect of his figures:

an cild geboren, þæt hæfde III fet and III handa and III eagan and III earan 220, 14.

for þon heo [an nædre] wæs hund twelftiges fota lang 174, 16.

Yet if these examples are to be counted at all in a statistical enumeration, made to find out what the position of the verb is in the majority of cases, i. e. what the syntactic (grammatical) norm is, they must stand in a seeming conflict with the usual norm in the *Orosius* which is that a dependent verb is final. Both of them, however, are perfectly normal. They are the exceptions that prove the rule, the difference being that they follow a rhetorical norm while the final verbs follow a syntactic norm.

Ælfric has a finer feeling for rhetorical effects than Alfred. Inversion, for example, in a dependent clause is rarely found

in Anglo-Saxon prose, yet Ælfric in the following sentence skilfully employs it as a means of preserving the preceding word-order and bringing out the contrast and balance between "arleasnysse" and "deaþ." He is speaking of Stephen's death:

Swiþor he besorgade þa heora synna þonne his agene wunda; swiþor *heora arleasnysse*[a] þonne *his sylfes deaþ*[b]; and rihtlice swiþor, forþan þe *heora arleasnysse*[a] fyligde se eca deaþ, and þæt ece lif fyligde *his deaþe*[b] I, 50.

In the two following sentences the pronominal objects (see p. 15 (2)) follow their verbs, so as to preserve the balance of the clause immediately preceding:

He [se deofol] and his gingran awyrdaþ[a] manna lichaman[b] digellice[c] þurh[d] deofles[e] cræft[f], and gehælaþ[a] hi[b] openlice[c] on[d] manna[e] gesihþe[f] I, 4.

He[a] bær[b] þæt cild[c], and þæt cild[a] bær[b] hine[c] I, 136.

Under the head of "Transposed Order" (see p. 30 (d)), I have summed up the chief occasions when transposition is not observed with its usual frequency, but have left untouched the changes brought about by rhetoric. The syntactic norm must be clearly established before a rhetorical norm can be thought of, for the latter is largely a simple inversion of the former. If it be established, for example, that the usual position of pronominal objects is before the verbs that govern them, it follows that any other position must by its very novelty arrest attention and make for emphasis, whatever Goodell may say of the logical or psychological aspects of the question.

(*c*) "Can the numerous translations of Latin works, especially the translations of Alfred, be regarded as faithful representations of the natural utterance of the translators? There seem to be strong reasons for answering this question in the affirmative, with certain limitations."[1] Wack[2] corroborates Sweet and adds: "Einfluss des Lateinischen auf die Sprache der Uebersetzung lässt sich weder im Wortschatz noch syntactischer Beziehung nachweisen." And again, "Wahrt Aelfred

[1] Sweet, *Introduction to Cura Pastoralis* (E. E. T. Soc.).

[2] *Ueber das Verhältnis von König Aelfreds Uebersetzung der Cura Pastoralis zum Original.* Greifswald, 1889.

also der Uebertragung durchweg die Freiheit und Herrschaft der germanischen Form."

Speaking of the *Orosius*, "the only translation of Aelfred's which from the similarity of its subject admits of a direct comparison," Sweet[1] says: "We find almost exactly the same language and style as in the contemporary historical pieces of the Chronicle."

Though the *Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan* exhibit marked variations from the general order of other portions of the *Orosius*, I see no reason for crediting the Latin with any noteworthy influence. Whatever the influence may have been, it must have been exerted in behalf of finalizing the verbs, both in dependent and independent sentences; but I find only one sentence in which this influence seems exerted — the first sentence in the book. The Latin is: *Majores nostri orbem totius terrae, Oceani limbo circumseptum, triquadrum statuere.* The Anglo-Saxon: Ure ieldran ealne þisne ymbhwyrft þises middangeardes, cwæþ Orosius, swa swa Oceanus utan ymbligeþ, þone (man) garsecg hateð, on þreo todældon. 8, 1. Here "on þreo todældon," appearing at the end of a long independent sentence, corresponds exactly in position to "triquadrum statuere," and is the most violent transposition that I have noted.

It is, perhaps, needless to say that the influence of Latin is plainly seen in the blundering awkwardness of many passages in the *Orosius*.[2] Sentences illustrating this are necessarily long, and the subject does not fall within the province of this paper, but the sentence beginning 106, 7 and that beginning 212, 14 will give a general idea of the incompleteness and clumsiness to be found in Alfred's frequent and vain attempts to pit the looseness of Anglo-Saxon against the compactness of Latin. In 136, 32 the attempt is made to compress two Latin sentences into one, but in none of these is the word-order abnormal.

[1] Page 40 of *Introd. to Cura Pastoralis.*

[2] Cf. Schilling's dissertation: *König Ælfred's Angelsächsische Bearbeitung der Weltgeschichte des Orosius* (Halle, 1886), p. 9.

The question of Latin influence does not enter into the *Homilies* except where Ælfric occasionally quotes Scriptural Latin and adds immediately a literal translation. In such cases there is noticeable at times a tendency to conform the word-order as closely as possible to the Latin,[1] so as, apparently, to impress the hearer with the fact that he is listening now not, as heretofore, to an interpretation of inspired thought, but to the inspired thought itself, dressed as far as possible in its native garb. E. g. He [Lucas] cwæþ, Postquam consummati sunt dies octo, etc. Þæt is on ure geþeode, Æfter þan þe wæron gefyllede ehta dagas, etc. I, 90. Such inversion, as noted before, is rare. In the *Gospel of Luke* (II, 21) the order is, Æfter þam þe ehta dagas gefyllede wæron, and Ælfric himself observes this order in the following example, where the Latin order is exactly as before: Cum natus esset Iesus, etc. Þa þa se Hælend acenned wæs, etc. I, 104. In the *Gospel of Matthew* the order is the same, though the words are different (Mat. II, 1).[2]

(*d*) Using the terms employed by Whitney in his *Compendious German Grammar*, I divide order, as related to subject and predicate into (1) Normal, (2) Inverted, and (3) Transposed. (1) Normal order = subject + verb. (2) Inverted = verb + subject. (3) Transposed = subject . . . . + verb.

It is only when the last division is viewed in relation to other sentence members besides the subject and predicate, that the propriety of a special designation is seen; for subject and

[1] Ælfric, however, is almost entirely free from the examples of forced order so frequently occurring in the *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*. Cf. the following, taken from the Notes to Bright's *Gospel of St. Luke in Anglo-Saxon*, pp. 109, 110:

Luke I, 27 (*Clementine Vulgate*): Ad virginem desponsatam viro, cui nomen erat Ioseph, de domo David, et nomen virginis Maria.

Anglo-Saxon Gospel: tō beweddudre fæmnan ānum were, þæs nama wæs Iōsēp, of Dāuīdes hūse; and þære fæmnan nama wæs Marīa.

Ælfric, *Hom.* I, 194: tō ðām mēdene þe wæs Marīa gehāten, and hēo āsprang of Dāuīdes cynne, þæs māran cyninges, and hēo wæs beweddod þām rihtwīsan Iōsēpe. See also Notes III, 4, 5; XI, 11, 12.

[2] The "paving letters" in the *Rule of St. Benet* (E. E. T. Soc. No. 90) would throw invaluable light on this subject if we had the original instead of a much mutilated copy. It is at present, however, impossible to rearrange the Latin words in the original alphabetical order of the "paving letters."

predicate follow the order observed in (1), though the predicate comes last as related to its modifiers.

For the component parts of the compound tenses, I use "auxiliary" for the first member, "verb" for the second. Though not so exact as "personal verb" for the first, and "non-personal verb" for the second, or "Hilfsverbum" and "Hauptverbum," these terms have the merit of greater brevity,[1] and are equally self-defining.

By "dependent order" and "independent order," I mean the order in dependent sentences and independent sentences. When the term "verb" is used alone, it means a simple (non-compound) tense, which is always personal.

These respective orders will now be taken up in detail.

II. Normal Order.

Independent sentences.

Subject + verb + verb modifiers.

(*a*) By verb modifiers are meant accusative objects, dative objects, predicate nouns and adjectives, prepositional phrases, and adverbs. Of this order in general Ries remarks: "Die Voranstellung des Subjects ist im Indogermanischen, soweit die historische Kenntniss reicht, der Grundtypus der Wortfolge und ist—soweit mir bekannt—mit alleiniger Ausnahme des Keltischen, in allen Zweigen des Sprachstammes herrschend geblieben" (p. 9).

This sequence is employed in Anglo-Saxon for independent affirmative sentences.

(1) With simple tense:

Þæt Estland is swyðe mycel 20, 14.[2]

[1] This can hardly be claimed for Ries's substitution of "irregulär-gerade Folge" for "Inversion," p. 2, though in other respects the term is a happy one.

[2] Arabic figures in every case show that the *Orosius* is referred to. Roman and Arabic, for volume and page, indicate the *Homilies*.

and se nimð þone læstan dæl 21, 3.

He wæs of Sicilia þæm londe 54, 17.

(2) When the verb is a compound tense the auxiliary follows the order of the simple tense noted above, the second member following immediately, medially, or finally. When the adverbial designations are numerous, or of various kinds, the verb either immediately follows its auxiliary or takes a medial position among the adverbial designations. This is often a matter of rhetoric (of emphasis) and is the principle involved in the distinction between loose and periodic sentences. The language had not yet developed a norm and was thus more flexible in this respect than modern German. The final position of the second member, is, however, the most common if the modifiers are few.

In the following examples I shall quote inverted as well as normal sentences, for as far as the relative positions of auxiliary and verb are concerned, they are not to be distinguished.

(*a*) Verb immediately following auxiliary:

Þonne sceolon beon gesamnode ealle ða menn ðe swyftoste hors habbað 20, 33. This triple verb is evidently bunched together so that "ðe" and its clause may immediately follow "menn;" but had there been no following clausal modifier of "menn," the order would more probably have been, Þonne sceolon ealle ða menn beon gesamnode. See p. 35 (4).

Seo hæfde gehaten heora gydenne Dianan þæt, etc. 108, 16.

he wolde abrecan Argus þa burg 158, 31.

nu we sindon cumen to þæm godan tidun 182, 14.

Æfter þæm wordum Pompeius wearð gefliemed mid eallum his folce 242, 12.

Antonius and Cleopatro hæfdon gegaderod sciphere on þæm Readan Sæ 246, 19.

(*b*) Verb medial:

Þæt tacen wearð on Romanum swiþe gesweotolad mid þæm miclan wolbryne 86, 23.

Ic hæbbe nu gesæd hiora ingewinn 88, 28.

and næron on hie hergende buton þrie dagas 92, 36.

He wearþ þeh swiþor beswicen for Alexandres searewe þonne 124, 18.

He wæs on ðæm dagum gemærsad ofer ealle oþere cyningas 154, 25.

He wæs eac on þæm dagum gleawast to wige 154, 32.

(*c*) Verb final:[1]

and Gallie wæron ær siex monaþ binnan þære byrig hergende and þa burg bærnende 94, 1.

and uneaðe mehte ær ænig þæm Gallium oðfleon oþþe oðhydan 94, 10.

þa hie ne mehton from Galliscum fyre forbærnede weorþan 94, 14.

þa wæron ealle þa wif beforan Romana witan gelaðede 108, 31.

nu ic wille eac þæs maran Alexandres gemunende beon 110, 10.

and þær wæs his folc swa swiðe forslagen þæt etc. 244, 10.

(*b*) The position of datives (nouns and pronouns).

(1) The substantival dative, unless influenced by rhetorical considerations, stands between the verb and the direct object, as in modern English.

Ohthere sæde his hlaforde, Ælfrede cyninge, þæt, etc. 17, 1. (This clausal object makes the above position necessary in this case).

Romane gesealdon Gaiuse Iuliuse seofon legan 238, 16.

Æfter þæm Romane witan Claudiuse þone hunger 260, 21.

he gesealde Ualente his breðer healf his rice 288, 11.

He gesealde Persum Nissibi þa burg 286, 26.

and betahte his twæm sunum þone onwald 294, 30.

In the following sentence, the two appositive modifiers force the indirect object after the direct:

he sealde his dohtor Alexandre þæm cyninge, his agnum mæge 118, 27.

[1] Earle notes a survival of this order in the legal diction of Modern English (*English Prose*, p. 87).

(2) The pronominal dative, however, comes between the subject and the verb.

He him þa gehet 114, 25 and 27.

and him bebead 114, 30.

Hie þa sume him getygðedon 118, 15.

He þa Alexander him anum deadum lytle mildheortnesse gedyde 128, 14.

and hi him þæt swiþe ondrædan 138, 5.

he him[1] þa to fultume com 140, 22.

and hi him gefylstan 162, 20.

and him þæt rice geagnedan 224, 20.

Romane him geþancodon 224, 32.

There are many sentences in which the pronominal dative is drawn after the verb through the influence of a following word or phrase upon which the dative is dependent rather than upon the verb:

and gesetton him to cyningum twegen Hasterbalas 210, 26.

and he wearð him swa grom 260, 22.

he geceas him to fultume Traianus þone mon 264, 18.

But when dependent solely on the idea contained in the verb, the pronominal dative comes between the subject and the verb. Only nine variations are to be found in the *Orosius* (17, 9; 20, 1; 20, 4; 178, 18; 258, 28; 274, 14; 284, 5; 292, 28; 296, 5), and in some of these it is impossible to tell whether the dative is a modifier of the idea contained in the verb, the verbal modifier, or in the union of the two. Of course the dative after a preposition is here excluded.

Ælfric is not so consistent in this respect as Alfred, his sequence being more modern. In a portion of the *Homilies* equal to the *Orosius*, there occur 86 pronominal datives, of which 64 precede the verb, 22 follow,—a ratio of about 3 to 1.

an Adam him eallum naman gesceop I, 14.

God him worhte þa reaf of fellum I, 18.

[1] Here "him" is governed by "to fultume" rather than by "com." Most sentences of this sort observe the following order: he þa com him to fultume. See below.

Drihten him andwyrde I, 126.

But,

We secgaþ eow Godes riht I, 56.

(c) The position of direct objects (nouns, clauses, and pronouns).

(1) Nouns and clauses follow the substantival dative if there be one;[1] if not, they follow the verb but precede all other verbal modifiers.

Philippus gelædde fird on Lacedemonie and on Thebane 118, 24.

Alexander hæfde gefeoht wiþ Porose þæm, etc. 132, 16.

Þa brohton Romane þone triumphan angean Pomp. mid, etc. 234, 27.

and mon towearp þone weal niþer oþ þone grund 238, 12.

(2) The pronominal direct object precedes the verb.

he hine oferwann and ofsloh 30, 11.

hy genamon Ioseph, and hine gesealdon cipemonnum, and hi hine gesealdon in Egypta land 34, 2 (a fine illustration of all the preceding).

he hi þær onfenge, and hi þær afedde 36, 11.

and se cyning Hasterbal hiene selfne[2] acwealde 212, 7.

he þa hiene selfne forbærnde 52, 7.

feng Titus to Romana onwalde, and hine hæfde II gear 264, 1.

feng Lucius Antonius to rice, and hit hæfde XIII ger 268, 26. (This oft repeated clause, "and hit hæfde" or "and hine hæfde," representing various Latin equivalents in the *Orosius*, never varies its order.)

Only four variations from the usual order are found in the *Orosius* (82, 18; 226, 10; 284, 28; 294, 28).

Ælfric, in a portion of the *Homilies* equal to the *Orosius*, employs 108 pronominal accusatives, of which 88 precede the verb, 20 follow,—a ratio of about 4½ to 1.

[1] For examples, see p. 13 (1).

[2] The preference for this interposed position, both in the *Orosius* and the *Homilies*, is not shown so decidedly by these intensive forms, "him selfum" and "hiene selfne," as by the simple forms. Cf. exceptions under both heads.

and he hi lædde ofer sæ . . . . and he hi afedde I, 24.

and he hine lufode synderlice I, 58.

God on swefne hi gewarnode I, 78.

Þa tungel-witegan . . . . hine gemetton mid þære meder I, 116.

But,

Stacteus . . . . astrehte hine to Johannes fotswaþum I, 68.

(*d*) In imperative clauses with the subject unexpressed, pronominal objects, both dative and accusative, follow the verb.

Orosius (only one such construction): Gesecgaþ me nu Romane, cwæð Orosius, 194, 24.

Homilies: Þes is min leofa Sunu . . . . gehyraþ him I, 104.

Syle us to-dæg urne dæghwamlican hlaf. And forgyf us ure gyltas . . . . Ac alys us fram yfele I, 258.

The reason why pronouns prefer the initial positions in a sentence is to be sought, I think, in the very nature of pronouns. They are substitutes not merely for nouns, but for nouns that have preceded them in the paragraph or sentence. All pronouns are, thus, essentially relative; and just as relative pronouns proper follow as closely as possible their antecedents, so personal pronouns, partaking of the relative nature, partake also of the relative sequence.

As to whether an adverb should precede a prepositional phrase, or vice-versa,—it is purely a matter of relative emphasis. As in modern English, there was, and could be, no syntactic norm.

III. Inverted Order.

Independent sentences.

Verb + subject.

(*a*) When a word, phrase, or clause, other than the subject or a coördinate conjunction, begins the sentence, provided it be a modifier of the verb, the verb may be drawn after it, and the subject made to follow.

Inversion presents itself under two entirely distinct aspects: (1) As a means of more closely uniting the inverted sentence with the preceding (by such words as "þa," "þonne," etc.); (2) As a means of relative stress (as e.g. when the direct object begins the sentence). The one conduces to compactness and continuousness; the other, to emphasis and effectiveness.

Inversion is by no means consistently employed in Anglo-Saxon prose; hence I have avoided stating the principle in a dogmatic way. Generally speaking, it may be said that the *Orosius*, on account of its narrative nature, employs inversion for the first mentioned purpose oftener than the *Homilies*; while the *Homilies*, on account of their expository nature, furnish more examples of inversion for purposes of rhetorical stress.

Kube finds the same dearth of inversion in the *Chronicle*, "her" when initial being followed by the normal more frequently than by the inverted order. The same may be said of "æfter þæm"[1] in the *Orosius*. Kube thinks that the frequent repetition of "her" had weakened its inverting power. "Es wurde ihm [dem verfasser] gleichsam zu einer einleitenden formel, nach der er seinen satz baute, wie er jeden anderen ohne diese formel gebaut haben wurde" p. 8. "Æfter þæm," however, is not of frequent occurrence in the *Orosius*, while "þa" and "þonne" are; yet inversion after "Æfter þæm" is as rare as it is frequent after "þa" and "þonne." It must be remembered that the essence of inversion is the closeness of interdependence between verb and initial word. Consistent inversion would assume that this union is constant and indissoluble, so that to move a verbal modifier to the beginning of the sentence must necessarily move the verb with it. But this cannot be true where constructions are as yet unfettered by traditional forms. The relation between verb and verbal modifier is not constant, but varies in degree even with the same words. Rhetoric, again, has kept the language from crystallizing into hard and merely mechanical forms of construction.

[1] Æfter þæm þe" is, of course, an entirely different construction, and introduces only dependent clauses.

In the following sentences, for example,

Maximianus he sende on Affricam 280, 2.

Constantius he sende on Gallie 280, 3.

Galerius he sende on Perse 280, 8.

one feels the superior distinctness with which these names are contrasted, not only by their being placed first but equally by their not drawing (though they are direct objects) the verb with them. The reader naturally pauses briefly after each name; but had the verb immediately followed, *i. e.* had inversion taken place ("Max. sende he," etc.), there would have been no room for a pause. In these cases, therefore, rhetoric has disturbed what must still be called the usual norm.

(*b*) The chief cases of inversion are,

(1) By a word:

Þa for Iulius to Rome 240, 15.

Þær hæfdon Romane sige, and þær wæs Gallia ofslagen 232, 11.

Siþþan for Iulius on Thesaliam 240, 29.

Ne wene ic, cwæð Orosius 92, 18.

Uneaðe mæg mon . . . . gesecgan 128, 20.

Þonne is þis land 19, 16.

(2) By a phrase:

For hwi besprecað nu men 54, 33.

Eac buton þæm yfele nahton hie naþer, etc. 92, 33.

Æfter his fielle wearð þara casera mægð offeallen 262, 5.

(3) By a clause:

Ær ðæm ðe Romeburh getimbred wære . . . ., ricsode Ambictio 36, 4.

Ic wat geare, cwæð Orosius, 42, 1.

Ær þæm þe Romeburg getimbred wære . . . . wæs þætte Pel. and Ath. . . . . winnende wæron 56, 6. (The inverted subject is here the whole clause introduced by "þætte").

Inversion caused by an initial dependent clause is not frequent in Anglo-Saxon; for most dependent clauses, when they precede independent ones, have some correlative word to introduce the latter (þa . . . . þa, þonne . . . . þonne):

þonne he þa oferswiðed hæfde . . . . þonne dyde he, etc., 112, 23.

Here the inversion in "dyde he" is caused by the second "þonne," not by the preceding clause. Such clauses were weaker in inverting power than either single words or phrases. The fact that it contained a separate subject and predicate gave the initial clause a certain independence, an isolation, a power to stand alone, and thus widened the breach between it and the verb of the succeeding clause which it limited. No better proof of this could be given than the tendency to sum up and reinforce the weakened effect of the preceding clause by some correlative or connective word. The interdependence of the two clauses was not strongly felt. Rask[1] correctly states the principle as follows:

"In general, however, as in English, the consequent proposition is not distinguished by any sign, not even by the order of the words, the subject being also here placed before the verb." "But when the particle of time, þa or þonne, is repeated before a consequent proposition, the subject usually follows the verb, as in German and Danish."

Erdmann,[2] discussing a principal clause (Nachsatz) preceded by a dependent (Vordersatz), says: "Im Nhd. scheint die Voranstellung des Verbums im Nachsatze überall herrschende Regel geworden zu sein; nur nach concessiven Vordersätzen unterbleibt sie oft, indem diese trotz ihrer Satzform für sich als selbständige Ausrufe gefasst werden und der Nachsatz dann (oft mit rhetorischer Pause) ganz ohne Rücksicht auf sie seine eigene Wortstellung bewahrt." What is here said of concessive clauses is true largely of all Anglo-Saxon dependent clauses in their effect upon succeeding clauses.

Æfter þæm þe Philippus hæfde Ath. and Thes. him underðieded, he begeat, etc., 112, 8.

and raþe þæs þe hie togædere coman, Romane hæfdon sige, 160, 3.

[1] *Ang. Sax. Gram.* (translated by Thorpe, 1830), Fourth Part, pp. 118, 119.
[2] *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, § 207.

Ac raþe þæs þe Hannibal to his fultume com, he gefliemde ealle þa consulas 190, 5.

In the *Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan*, there are three initial dependent clauses without a succeeding correlative, and none of them causes inversion (18, 15; 21, 12; 21, 15).

(c) There are no instances in the *Orosius* of inversion to express condition, concession, or interrogation, and only two instances of inversion to express command or permission (100, 27; 182, 16).

The *Homilies*, however, show that the genius of the language allowed inversion for all the above purposes.

(1) Condition:

Eaþe mihte þes cwyde beon læwedum mannum bediglod, nære seo gastlice getacning I, 94.

(2) Concession:

Beon þa mædenn snotere, beon hi stunte, eallie hi moton slapan on þæm, etc. II, 566.

(3) Interrogation:

Eom ic hit, Drihten? II, 244.

and gesawe þu Abraham? II, 236.

Petrus, lufast þu me? II, 290.

ne ondrætst þu þe God? II, 256. (The negative invariably precedes in such sentences).

(4) Command:

The Lord's Prayer furnishes many examples (I, 258): Gebiddaþ eow, Sy þin nama gehalgod, Cume þin rice, Sy þin wylla, etc.

Ne ete ge of þam lambe II, 264.

(As before, the negative must precede).

ne beo ge bitere II, 322.

Ne bere ge mid eow pusan II, 532.

Ne gecyrre ge nænne mann II, 534.

There are a few cases in which the subject precedes:

Ic wylle; and þu beo geclænsod I, 122

Þæt soþe Leoht . . . . onlihte ure mod II, 294.

Þu soþlice cyþ þine gesihþe II, 342.

In the following sentence, the two orders are combined:

Ælc sawul sy underþeod healicrum anwealdum; þæt is, Beo ælc man underþeod mihtigran men þonne he sylf sy. II, 362.

The occasional occurrence of inversion in dependent clauses will be treated under the proper head. See p. 36.

IV. Transposed Order.[1]

Dependent sentences.

(1) *Subject* . . . . . *verb.*

(2) *Subject* . . . . . *verb* + *auxiliary.*

(*a*) Before taking up dependent sentences in detail, I wish to give the commonly accepted view in regard to the modernizing influence of French upon Anglo-Saxon transposition. This is best stated as well as exemplified by Fiedler and Sachs. The following is quoted from a paragraph headed, "Einfluss des Französischen auf die Wortstellung im Englischen:"[2]

"Wichtiger als alle die genannten Veränderungen, welche das Französische im Englischen hervorgebracht hat, ist die Veränderung der Wortstellung. Um nicht weitläufig zu werden, beschränken wir uns, dieselbe an Beispielen klar zu machen.

Gif weofodþen be boca tæcinge his agen lif rihtlice *fadige.*

Si un prêtre *règle* sa vie sur les préscriptions des livres.

Þa Darius geseah, þat he *oferwunnen beon wolde.*

Lorsque Darius vit, qu'il *serait vaincu.*"

(I omit as unnecessary the German and English equivalents given by Fiedler and Sachs, as well as their numerous other examples.)

[1] Various explanations of Transposition have been offered, but the question is still unsettled. Cf. Wunderlich, *Der deutsche Satzbau*, 91 seq; Wackernagel, *Indogermanische Forschungen* I, 333 seq; Erdmann, *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, § 216, 3.

[2] *Wissenschaftliche Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, I, § 27.

Meiklejohn gives the same view (*English Language*, Part III, cap. III, § 11).

The lessons which they draw from such citations may be easily inferred; but is the claim a true one, that the resemblance between French and English order is due to the influence of Norman French? The following results, it seems to me, settle this question in the negative:

A.

If the verb be a simple tense, the following scheme represents all possible relative positions, whether with or without a direct object:

(1) *Verb final.*

a { . . . . . verb (with or without object):
þe þæs yfeles ordfruma wæs 40, 16.

(2) *Verb non-final.*

b { object + verb . . . . . :
for þon þe he monege anwealdas . . . geeode on þæm eastlondum, 150, 16.

c { verb + object:
þæt þunor toslog heora hiehstan godes hus Iofeses 160, 18.

d { verb . . . . . (no object):
þæt he bude on þæm lande 17, 2.

B.

If the verb be a compound tense, the following scheme represents all possible relative positions of its two members and the direct object:

(1) *Verb final.*

a { object + aux. + verb:
þa he hiene . . . . hæfde gelædd 286, 17.

b { aux. + object + verb:
for þon þe hie . . . . hæfdon gewinn up ahæfen 278, 22.

e { aux.+ verb (no object):
þæt hie sceoldon . . . . besincan 160, 29.

(2) *Aux. final.*

d { object + verb + aux.:
hu he hiene beswican mehte 52, 4.

e { verb + object + aux.:
Does not occur in *Or.* or *Hom.*

f { verb + aux. (no object):
hwær . . . . hweol on gongende wæron 38, 34.

(3) *Aux.+ verb non-final.*

g { object + aux.+ verb . . . . . :
þæt he . . . gewinn mehte habban wiþ hiene 240, 8.

h { aux.+ object + verb . . . . . :
ac sona swa G. hæfde . . . fultum . . . gelædd angean Marius 230, 2.

i { aux.+ verb + object:
for þon þe elpendes hyd wile drincan wætan 230, 26.

j { aux.+ verb . . . . (no object):
ær he ut wolde faran to gefeohte 232, 4.

(4) *Verb + aux. non-final.*

k { object + verb + aux. . . . . :
þeh þe hie hit . . . cyþan ne dorsten for þara senatum ege 232, 27.

l { verb + object + aux. . . . . :
Does not occur in *Or.* or *Hom.*

m { verb + aux.+ object:
gif hie gemunan willaþ . . . unclænnessa 64, 14.

n { verb + aux. . . . . (no object):
raþe þæs þe . . . þæt spell cuþ wearþ Cartainiensium 170, 4.

I have noted according to these schemes 500 dependent clauses from the *Orosius*, none being omitted unless it con-

tained simply a subject and predicate (as, "ær hio gefeolle" 252, 7) and thus had the final position forced upon its verb. Of these 500, 314 have simple tenses, of which (see scheme A.),

259	follow	order	of	*a*
9	"	"	"	*b*
14	"	"	"	*c*
32	"	"	"	*d*

Of the 500, 186 have compound tenses, of which (see scheme B.),

4	follow	order	of	*a*
20	"	"	"	*b*
27	"	"	"	*c*
31	"	"	"	*d*
0	"	"	"	*e*
80	"	"	"	*f*
1	"	"	"	*g*
1	"	"	"	*h*
3	"	"	"	*i*
8	"	"	"	*j*
1	"	"	"	*k*
0	"	"	"	*l*
1	"	"	"	*m*
9	"	"	"	*n*

These results show that if the verb be a simple tense, Alfred prefers to place it at the end, 82% being found in this position. If a compound tense, the auxiliary follows the verb proper and occupies the extreme end position, 59% (viz. classes *d* and *f*) following this order.

But these figures show more. An examination of scheme A shows that while 259 verbs (class *a*) are transposed, 46 (classes *c* and *d*) follow normal order (the order of independent sentences); while 9 show a mingling of the two norms.

In scheme B, 111 clauses (classes *d* and *f*) show complete transposition, 47 (classes *b* and *c*) assume normal order, while 28 show again a mingling of the two orders.

Thus there is already a movement in Early West-Saxon to abandon transposition in dependent sentences and to assume normal order instead. By the Mid. Eng. period, transposition had disappeared entirely,[1] dependent sentences being leveled under the order of independent. "In der ältesten englischen Prosa aus der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts ist die Konstruktion bereits vorzugweise französisch" (Fiedler and Sachs, § 29). This is true, but the point I here emphasize is that, while the influence of French powerfully aided the movement against transposition, it did not create the movement, but only fostered it. The following statistics from the Homilies prove that in a century after Alfred's day and more than half a century before the Norman Conquest, normal order had already practically triumphed over transposition. Of 314 simple tenses taken, as in the *Orosius* by pages from the *Homilies*,

155	follow	order	of	*a*
20	"	"	"	*b*
67	"	"	"	*c*
72	"	"	"	*d*

Of Ælfric's 186 compound tenses,

3	follow	order	of	*a*
21	"	"	"	*b*
48	"	"	"	*c*
15	"	"	"	*d*
0	"	"	"	*e*

[1] The following line (No. 7827, Harl. MS., Cant. Tales) is cited by Prof. Child in his *Observations on the Lang. of Chaucer and Gower*, "Peculiar Order:"

"Of all this thing, which that I of have sayd." So rare a survival, however, does not at at all disprove my statement.

38	follow	order	of	*f*
1	"	"	"	*g*
4	"	"	"	*h*
17	"	"	"	*i*
33	"	"	"	*j*
1	"	"	"	*k*
0	"	"	"	*l*
0	"	"	"	*m*
5	"	"	"	*n*.

Here, while there are no majorities, 155 simple tenses (class *a*) are transposed, 139 (classes *c* and *d*) follow normal order, while 20 show a mingling.

Of the compound tenses, 69 (classes *b* and *c*) assume normal order, 53 (classes *d* and *f*) show complete transposition, while 64 show a mingling of the two.

(*b*) Before taking up dependent clauses separately, I wish to note the occasional occurrence of transposition in independent clauses. In the *Orosius* this is found most frequently in the so-called progressive forms of the verb, and in such cases the auxiliary follows the verb proper and occupies the extreme end position, thus exhibiting both marks of complete transposition.

and hi þa x gear ymbe þa burg sittende wæron and feohtende 50, 12.

Þa folc him betweonum ful x winter þa gewin wraciende wæron 50, 20.

ac Romane mid hiora cristnam .... þowiende wæron 64, 10.

Hie þær þa winnende wæron 66, 21.

Hio mid þæm .... farende wæs 76, 27.

Sona æfter þæm heora þeowas wiþ þa hlafordas winnende wæron 86, 29.

Though these progressive verbs employ transposition most consistently, it is not confined to them. When not due to rhetorical causes, an explanation of transposition in independent sentences may often be found in the law of analogy.

(1) The analogy of dependent sentences; (2) The analogy of independent sentences with pronominal datives or accusatives.

(1) and genamon[a] anne earmne mon him to consule, þær he on his æcere eode[b], and his sulh on handa hæfde[c], and siþþan to Fulcisci þæm londe ferdon[d], and hie ut forleton[e] 88, 7.

In this example, *d* is the verb of an independent clause, yet this verb follows two dependent final verbs (*b* and *c*) and is by analogy, I think, drawn into a final position. The verb *e* is also final and independent, but could not take position before "hie" (its direct object) without violating a sequence which, as before shown, is most consistently observed by Alfred.

Ne wene ic . . . . þæt ic hie on þisse bec geendian mæge; ac ic oþere anginnan sceal 94, 16.

I do not think that "wene" extends its influence to the second predicate, but rather that the latter is drawn into the dependent (transposed) order by the magnetism of "geendian mæge."

The following is a fine illustrative sentence: he þa wende on þa ane þe him þa getriewe wæron, and heora burg gefor, and þæt folc mid ealle fordyde, and heora hergas towearp, swa he ealle dyde þe he awer mette 112, 36. (Cf. also 160, 30).

(2) By recurring to the citations given in the treatment of pronominal datives and accusatives, pp. 14, 15, and noting how frequently these pre-posed pronouns draw other words with them, one sees that a norm already existed in Alfred's prose for finalizing the verb even in independent sentences. One more citation will suffice:

Hie for þæm hie gebulgon, and þa burg forleton, and mid eallum heora fultume Romane sohton 92, 10.

Here "gebulgon," which occupies its usual position, has set the fashion for the two following verbs.

Many similar cases could be given, though I by no means limit the influence of these pronouns to sentences in which they occur in juxtaposition to independent sentences.

(c) The two schemes for dependent sentences given under A. and B. include a count of all classes,—temporal, local, rela-

tive, comparative, clauses of degree, causal, conditional, final and result clauses, concessive, indirect affirmative, indirect interrogative, and indirect imperative. I note no difference in any of these clauses as regards relative frequency or infrequency of transposition, except the three last named, which I reserve for special treatment later on.

As the difference between Alfred's word-order in dependent clauses and that of Ælfric has already been discussed, the following treatment is based wholly on the *Orosius*. In each case the list of introductory particles is exhaustive. As the word-order in the *Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan* is more like that of Ælfric than of Alfred, I shall for each class of clauses give the order peculiar to this portion of the *Orosius*.[1]

(1) Temporal clauses: þa, ær, þonne, hwilum . . . þæt, þa hwile þe, oþ, þy . . þe, siþþan, ær þæm þe, sona swa, gemong þæm þe, mid þæm þe, raþe þæs þe.

No hard and fast line can be drawn between temporal and relative clauses. They are often one and the same (cf. the frequent "þe's" in temporal introductory words), but I regard the clause as temporal whenever the adverbial idea seems more prominent than the adjectival. (It hardly need be said that "þa" and "þonne" often mean "then" not "when," that "þær" often means "there" not "where," and so for other introductory words. In such cases they have nothing to do with dependent clauses, and have already been treated under Inverted Order.)

oþ hie binnan þære byrig up eodon 90, 30.

Gemong þæm þe Pirrus wiþ Romane winnende wæs 160, 6. (Cf. also 158, 16; 56, 17; 214, 16.)

The most frequently occurring temporal clause in the *Orosius* is "Ær þæm þe Romeburh getimbred wære" with the number of years. Almost every chapter of every book begins with it or its later substitute "Æfter þæm þe R. getimbred

[1] March (*Gram. of the Ang.-Sax. Lang.*) has based his discussion of Arrangement (p. 214) chiefly on this portion of the *Orosius* and Alfred's prefaces.

wæs." These clauses occur 91 times, and only twice is the order of auxiliary and verb reversed, "wæs getimbred" occurring in 270, 5 and 278, 6.

In *O. and W.* (*Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan*) the tendency is to finalize, but 4 of the 5 compound temporal clauses have aux.+ verb instead of verb + aux.

(2) Local clauses: þær, hwær.

hwær þara wigwægna hweol on gongende wæron 38, 34.

þær nan mon ær ne siþþan mid firde gefaran ne dorste, buton Al. 150, 19 (172, 19; 214, 5).

There is but one example in *O. and W:* þær hit smalost wære 18, 32.

(3) Relative clauses: þe.

Unless "se, seo, þæt" was clearly relative, I have excluded the clause. The position of the verb in the *Orosius* is the best criterion; but to use this criterion when the position of the verb is the thing sought would, of course, be illogical. When coupled with "þe" it is relative, and often when preceded by a preposition, which "þe" never admits in the *Orosius* (Cf. 164, 23; 174, 9). Nor have I included cases of supposed omitted relatives, for in such cases it is as easy to suppose an omitted demonstrative as an omitted relative (Cf. 96, 10; 170, 31).

þe hy mæst bi libbaþ 30, 10.

þe þæs cristendomes wiþerflitan sint 84, 26 (98, 18; 194, 29).

Of the 16 relative clauses in *O. and W.*, 5 have independent order.

(4) Comparative clauses: þonne.

for þan þe he bryċþ swiþor on þone suþdæl þonne he do on þone norþdæl 24, 26 (a good example of order influenced by balance).

þonne hio ær . . . . wære 40, 25 (210, 24; 220, 16; 222, 1; 224, 33).

There is but one comparative clause in *O. and W:* þonne ænig man ofer seon mæge 19, 19.

(5) Clauses of degree and manner: swa.

swa hit ær wæs 40, 1.

swa hi mon syþþan het Persi 40, 34.

It is only when "swa" is doubled, "swa . . . . swa" or "swa swa," that the clause is properly one of degree rather than manner. E. g. in the following and in all those from *O. and W.*:

gesecgan swa monigfeald yfel swa on þæm þrim gearum gewurdon 128, 20.

Of the 6 in *O. and W.*, 5 follow normal order.

(6) Causal clauses: for þæm, for þæm þe, for þon, for þon þe, þæt (21, 15), nu.

for þon hy hyre nane bysene ær ne cuþan 30, 23.

nu ic longe spell habbe to secgenne 94, 16. (164, 21; 250, 31).

Of the 6 causal clauses in *O. and W.*, 5 have normal order.

(7) Conditional clauses: gyf, gif, buton, swelce, gelicost þæm þe.

buton hie on heora wifa hrif gewiton 54, 4.

swelce hie of oþerre worolde come 92, 31.

(170, 11; 214, 24; 286, 15).

The 2 in *O. and W.* (19, 13; 21, 12) are more transposed than normal.

(8) Final and Result clauses: þæt, to þon þæt.

þæt he eal þæt land mid sweflenum fyre forbærnde 32, 9.

þæt he his modor slege on his breþer gewrecan mehte, 150, 34. (240, 19; 294, 24).

Only one result clause occurs in *O. and W.* (21, 17); the verb is final, but aux. precedes verb proper, thus producing a mingling of the two norms.

(9) Concessive clauses: þeah, þeah þe, þeh, þeh þe, þa.

þa hio hit þurhteon ne mihte 30, 22.

þeah hit wind oþþe sæs flod mid sonde oferdrifen, 38, 36. (120, 17; 232, 27; 256, 6).

O. and W.: þeah man asette twegen fætels full ealaþ oþþe wæteres 21, 15.

(*d*) The three dependent clauses which I have called indirect affirmative, indirect interrogative, and indirect impera-

tive,—following respectively verbs of saying, asking, and commanding,—differ from all other dependent clauses in having been once independent themselves. They fall therefore under the head of oratio obliqua, and are substantives while all other dependent clauses are adverbs or adjectives. This substantival trio shows a frequent tendency to return, in regard to position of words, to its original independence, and thus to dispose its words according to oratio recta rather than to the demands of oratio obliqua. Of the 500 clauses counted from the *Orosius*, 90 consist of substantival clauses introduced by "þæt." Of these, 44 have compound tenses, 46 simple. Of the simple tenses (see p. 22),

21	follow	order	of	*a*
2	"	"	"	*b*
9	"	"	"	*c*
14	"	"	"	*d*

Of the compound (see p. 22 seq.),

2	follow	order	of	*a*
11	"	"	"	*b*
17	"	"	"	*c*
7	"	"	"	*d*
0	"	"	"	*e*
3	"	"	"	*f*
1	"	"	"	*g*
0	"	"	"	*h*
1	"	"	"	*i*
2	"	"	"	*j*
0	"	"	"	*k*
0	"	"	"	*l*
0	"	"	"	*m*
0	"	"	"	*n*

Thus it is seen that a minority of these "þæt" clauses fall in the predominating classes of dependent clauses, viz., *a* for

simple tenses, *d* and *f* for compound; while the majority are found in those classes which, with more or less faithfulness, follow the normal instead of the transposed order.

As was to be expected, the tendency in oratio obliqua clauses to revert to the normal order is far more marked in the *Homilies* than in the *Orosius*. Of the 500 clauses counted from the *Homilies*, 96 consist of substantival "þæt" clauses. Of these, 50 have simple tenses, 46 compound. Of the simple tenses,

13	follow	order	of	*a*
7	"	"	"	*b*
15	"	"	"	*c*
15	"	"	"	*d*

Of the compound,

0	follow	order	of	*a*
8	"	"	"	*b*
7	"	"	"	*c*
2	"	"	"	*d*
0	"	"	"	*e*
7	"	"	"	*f*
1	"	"	"	*g*
0	"	"	"	*h*
9	"	"	"	*i*
11	"	"	"	*j*
0	"	"	"	*k*
0	"	"	"	*l*
0	"	"	"	*m*
1	"	"	"	*n*

The existence, then, of this group of substantival clauses, but especially the indirect affirmative clauses, which even in Alfred's time resisted transposition and reverted to their original normal order, was, I believe, an important though hitherto overlooked factor in the ultimate disappearance of transposi-

tion and the triumph of the normal order in all dependent clauses. The frequency of these "þæt" clauses is attested by the figures just given, 90 in the *Orosius*, 96 in the *Homilies*. No other dependent clause approaches this ratio.

Briefly stated, then, the leading difference between the word order in Anglo-Saxon and that in Middle English or Modern English is found in the frequent transposition occurring in Anglo-Saxon dependent clauses. But this transposition had already, even in the period of Early West-Saxon, begun to show signs of decay, and, in the Late West-Saxon period, was fast disappearing. This was due, I think, chiefly to the following three causes: (1) The greater simplicity of the normal order; (2) The norm set by independent clauses and the consequent levelling of dependent clauses under this norm; (3) The norm set by indirect affirmative clauses, which gradually spread to other dependent clauses.

The introduction of Norman French only consummated these influences.

Ries, p. 66 (see p. 5), finds that in the *Hêliand* indirect affirmative clauses take the normal order, provided the introductory word be omitted; and Erdmann, p. 194 (see p. 19), remarks that, "Im Mhd. und Nhd. haben solche sätze stets die einfache Wortstellung nach Typus I: ich weiss, er lohnt es ihm." This corroborates the view that I have been urging, yet, in many cases at least, the clause ought not to be considered dependent when "þæt" is omitted, the omission serving rather as an evidence that the thraldom of the verb of saying has ceased to be felt. The author has taken the narrative into his own hands. In the *Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan*, for example, if "sæde" be as exacting as the Latin "dixit," one would have to consider no clause independent except the few that have this very "sæde" for their predicate. This is clearly not the case. When I speak, therefore, of "þæt" clauses, I mean those clauses preceded by "þæt" expressed, not understood.

(1) Substantival "þæt" clauses:

þæt hi gesawon mannes blod agoten 30, 8.

þæt wæs þæt forme þæt hyra wæter wurdon to blode 36, 25.

The preceding sentence is the first of the ten plagues. Throughout them all the normal order is preserved.

þæt hit wæs Godes stihtung 252, 29.

þæt hio wære mid gimstanum gefrætwed 252, 27.

þæt hie woldon þa onwaldas forlætan 280, 20.

þæt he hine mehte lædan þurh þæt westen 286, 16. (For transposed order, see 128, 5; 174, 24; 244, 17.)

Of the 15 "þæt" clauses in *O. and W.*, but one transposes:

þæt he ealra Norþmonna norþmest bude 17, 1.

(2) Indirect interrogative clauses:

hu, for hwy, hwy, hwær, hwelc, hweþer:

to gesecgenne hu monege gewin siþþan wæron betuh M. and C. and S. 52, 8.

on hu micelre dysignesse men nu sindon on þeosan cristendome 136, 17.

for hwy hie noldon geþencan ealle þa brocu 224, 27. (For transposed order see 164, 28; 202, 33; 260, 6.)

There are but 3 such sentences in *O. and W.*, all with simple final verbs.

(3) Indirect imperative clauses: þæt:

He .... biddende wæs .... þæt hie and Lac. mosten wiþ Persum .... sumne ende gewyrcan 82, 22.

bædan þæt him mon sealde ænne cucne mon 102, 28.

onbudon .... þæt he come mid feawum monnum to Rome 240, 2.

bebead .... þæt hie simle gegripen þæs licgendan feos 260, 31. (For transposition see 82, 21; 98, 14; 164, 27; 176, 2; 178, 18.)

No imperative clauses occur in *O. and W.*

The last two classes of sentences, (2) and (3), do not follow the normal order as consistently as do indirect affirmative clauses. It is to be remembered that these two classes had not the same original order in oratio recta that the affirmative clause had. *E. g.* "He cwæð þæt he bude on," etc., was

originally "Ic bue on" = normal order. But "Lucinius bebead þæt nan cristen mon ne come on," etc., was originally "Ne come nan cristen mon on," etc. = inverted order. So also the interrogative clause was originally inverted. All had their verbs, therefore, near or at the beginning of the sentence and thus are fortified, as it were, against transposition; but the original affirmative norm proved most potent, for it had both subject and predicate already in the normal order, while the two latter classes had to re-invert before assuming the normal order.

(4) A fourth cause that operates against transposition is the tendency to bring modifying and modified words as closely together as possible. This can occur only when the second dependent clause modifies some word in the first other than the predicate. The disturbance is thus limited practically to relative and comparative clauses.

Relative clauses:

for þon þe se cyning ne gemunde þara monigra teonena þe hiora ægþer . . . . gedyde 52, 21.

Here "gemunde," the predicate of the first dependent clause, could not take its usual order in the *Orosius* without separating "teonena" and "þe," modified and modifying words (cf. also 112, 24; 196, 18; 258, 27; 296, 23).

Comparative clauses:

and for ðon þe sio sunne þær gæð near on setl þonne on oðrum lande 24, 17. Here, for the same reason as above, "gæþ" could not come between "setl" and "þonne" without separating two intimately connected ideas (cf. 52, 1; 192, 28; 192, 33).

(5) Another dependent clause which violates the usual final position of the verb in the *Orosius* is the relative clause having as its predicate some form of "hatan." The complementary noun ends the sentence "þe man hæt Euxinus" being the norm and not "þe man Eux. hæt." In the first 28 pages of the *Orosius*, the geographical portion, in which this clause most frequently occurs, there are 58 instances of "þe" with

"hatan," and in 44 of these the normal order is used instead of the transposed. Cf. also the invariable "þe oþre noman hatte" with the noun added. E. g. "þe oþre noman hatte Curtius" 102, 30.

In a portion of the *Homilies* equal to the *Orosius*, the relative clause with "hatan" occurs 32 times; 30 of these follow the Alfredian type and thus resist transposition.

(6) Instead of the transposed or normal order, inversion is sometimes found in dependent clauses and is produced by the same causes that produce it elsewhere; viz., by some sentence member, other than the subject, following the introductory particle. It is not of frequent occurrence in the *Orosius* or the *Homilies*.

þonne þær biþ man dead 20, 20.

þæt þær com hagol 38, 8.

oþ þara Persea wæs ungemetlic wæl geslægen 80, 25.

þætte on anre dune neah Romebyrig tohlad seo eorþe, and wæs byrnende fyr up of þære eorþan 160, 23.

(7) When there are many verbal modifiers, or when the idea contained in the verb is distributed (as by "ge . . . . ge," "ne . . . . ne"), the verb prefers a medial position and often immediately follows the subject.

gif hie gemunan willaþ hiora ieldrena unclænnessa, and heora wolgewinna, and hiora monigfealdan unsibbe, and hiora unmilt sunge þe hie, etc. 64, 14.

The predicate might have been placed after the first or second of these objects, but could hardly have occupied a final position. The relative clause (see p. 35) is also a disturbing element in the above sentence.

buton þæm þe mon oft hergeade ægþer ge on hie selfe ge on heora land æt ham 90, 25.

swa . . . . þæt hie naþer næfdon siþþan ne heora namon ne heora anweald 98, 7. (Cf. also 98, 22; 184, 2; 190, 7; 240, 28; for this principle as well as the disturbing influence of a relative clause, see 38, 9; 82, 18.)

These seven cases, then, are the leading instances in which both Alfred and Ælfric most consistently reject the transposed order in dependent sentences. Most of them are general causes, applicable to all Anglo-Saxon prose, and thus constitute links in the chain of influences which more and more circumscribed the sphere of the transposed order and extended that of the normal, or more natural and logical, order.

(*e*) In the *Orosius*, pronominal datives and accusatives precede the subject of the dependent clause as frequently as they follow it, there being no prevailing norm.

Pronouns precede subject:

oþ him Pilatus onbead 254, 23.

þæt hiene monige for god hæfde 254, 24.

oþ him þa biscepas sædon 114, 3.

oþ þæt him on se miccla firenlust on innan aweox 32, 8.

þeah hit wind oþþe sæs flod mid sonde oferdrifen 38, 36.

swa hit Gaius geþoht hæfde 258, 19.

Pronouns follow subject:

þæt ic hie . . . geendian mæge 94, 17.

þe þa Finnas him gyldaþ 18, 16.

þe he him onwinnende wæs 30, 5.

oþ hie him þær eard genamon 44, 27.

þætte þa earman wifmen hie swa tintredon 48, 13.

þeh þe hie hit openlice cyþan ne dorsten 232, 27.

In the *Homilies*, these datives and accusatives follow the subject more often than they precede it. Here, as in every case, the *Homilies* mark an advance toward a freer and more natural order, in this case the order found in independent sentences. Out of 72 datives, 52 come between the subject and the verb, 20 precede the subject. Out of 98 accusatives, not one precedes its subject.

A peculiarity of the *Orosius*, not shared by the *Homilies*, is the invariable position of the indefinite "mon" after pronominal datives and accusatives.

þæt hie mon oferswiþan mehte 160, 4.

hwæþer hiene mon . . . geflieman mehte 192, 15.

Ac þa hit mon to him brohte 242, 18.
þæt him mon sealde ænne cucne mon 102, 28.
þe him mon gebead 94, 27.
þæt him mon geswicen hæfde 52, 6.
for þæm þe him mon . . . forwiernde 78, 9.

Cf. these with "þæt mon þa þeowas freode," in which the object is not a pronoun but a noun.

INDEX.

I. Introduction. Page.

(a) Previous investigations 5
(b) Purpose of paper 7
(c) Influence of Latin 8
(d) Definition of terms 10

II. Normal Order.

(a) Simple and Compound tenses 11
(b) Datives { (1) Substantival ..... 13; (2) Pronominal 14
(c) Accusatives { (1) Substantival ..... 15; (2) Pronominal 15
(d) Pronominal objects in imperative clauses 16

III. Inversion.

(a) In general 16
(b) { By a word ..... 18; By a phrase ..... 18; By a clause 18
(c) To express:
(1) Condition 20
(2) Concession 20
(3) Interrogation 20
(4) Command 20

IV. Transposition.

(a) Counter influence of French 21
(b) Transposition in independent clauses 26
(c) Dependent clauses separately treated 27
(d) Disturbing influences in transposition 30

PAGE.

(1) Indirect affirmative clauses.
(2) Indirect interrogative clauses. } 33
(3) Indirect imperative clauses.
(4) Relative and comparative clauses..... 35
(5) Relative clauses with "hatan"..... 35
(6) Inversion in dependent clauses..... 36
(7) Multiplicity of verbal modifiers..... 36
(c) Pronominal datives and accusatives..... 37

LIFE.

I was born in Greensboro, N. C., May 28, 1864. After attending several private schools and the Greensboro Graded School, I entered Davidson College, N. C., in September of 1880, from which institution I received the degree of A. B. in 1884, receiving also the Society medal and the Bingham medal for special work in English. After pursuing, under the direction of Dr. W. S. Currell, the prescribed A. M. course in English, I received that degree from my alma mater in 1887. At that time I was Principal of the Selma Academy, Johnston Co., N. C.; this position I resigned in 1889 to pursue graduate courses in English, History, and German at the Johns Hopkins University, where I have since remained. In 1890 I was here appointed Assistant in English, and during the following two years have conducted the undergraduate (P. H. E.) classes in English Composition and Rhetoric.

To all of my instructors, and especially to Dr. Bright, to whom this paper owes its inception, I take pleasure in expressing a grateful sense of appreciation and indebtedness, not only for helpful guidance in study, but equally for the kindly sympathy and unfailing courtesy that have marked their relations to me.

CHARLES ALPHONSO SMITH.

May 26, 1893.

A

From Johns Hopkins Univ.
Oct. 1895.

ANGLO-SAXON DÆG-MÆL

DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES
OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

FREDERICK TUPPER, JR.

PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC AND ENGLISH LITERATURE,
UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

BALTIMORE
THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
1895

JOHN MURPHY & CO., PRINTERS,
BALTIMORE.

[Reprinted from the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. X, No. 2.]

TO

MY UNIVERSITY COMRADES

JAMES PINCKNEY KINARD

AND

JOHN McLAREN McBRYDE, JR.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE

INTRODUCTION 1

BIBLIOGRAPHY 2

CHAPTER I. THE ANGLO-SAXON DAY 7

Classes of Day:

I. Natural Day 10

II. Artificial Day 11

Horology Notes 12

Horology 13

Regulation of Time:

I. Divisions of Night and Day 16

II. Anglo-Saxon Horologies 18

III. Length of Sunday 22

The Canonical Hours 25

Previous Treatment 28

Number and Symbolism 31

Uhta 36

Uhta in Middle English 39

Hancred 39

On Ærne Morgen 42

1. Dægred 44

2. Prime 46

Undern 50

1. Undern in Anglo-Saxon 51

(*a*) In Canonical Usage 53

(*b*) As a Meal-time 53

2. Undern in Middle English 54

Middæg 60

PAGE.

None..... 62
1. None in Anglo-Saxon..... 62
(*a*) As a Meal-time..... 63
(*b*) On Fast Days..... 64
2. None in Middle English..... 65
Æfen..... 69
As a Meal-time..... 72
Compline..... 74
Conticinium and Intempesta Nox..... 75

CHAPTER II. RUBRICS TO ANGLO-SAXON GOSPELS..... 77
Introduction..... 77
Tables..... 80
Notes to the Rubrics..... 91
Midwinter..... 91
Yule and Yule Feast..... 95
On Cylda Mæsse-dæg..... 97
Eighth Mass-day to Midwinter..... 97
12th Day..... 102
Septuagesima and Sexagesima..... 103
Candlemas..... 105
To Caput Jejunii..... 105
Friday in the "Cys-wucan"..... 106
Halgan Dæg..... 107
The Anglo-Saxon Lent..... 108
Myd-fæstene..... 110
Sunday, 5th Week in Lent..... 111
St. Gregory's Mass-day..... 111
Thursday before Easter..... 111
Langa Frige-dæg..... 112
Easter Even..... 113
Easter Day..... 114
Ofer Eastron be þære rode..... 118
Gang-days..... 119
Ascension..... 123
Pentecost..... 124
Ember Days..... 125
Midsummer..... 126

PAGE.
St. Michael's Mass-day 127
All Saints' Mass 127
Advent 127
On Setern-dæg to Æw-fæstene, etc 128
To Cyric-halgungum 130

ANGLO-SAXON DÆG-MÆL.

("Swa swa þa geleafullas ræderas hit gesetton, and eac gewisse dæg-mæl us swa tæcað," *Leechdoms*, III, 256.)

Introduction.

I began my work upon this subject with a study of the Anglo-Saxon year; but this, I was soon convinced, meant nothing less than a study of medieval astronomical science, and required far more leisure and aptitude than I possessed. I have, therefore, chosen to limit myself to particular portions of this broad subject.

In my first chapter, I discuss the Anglo-Saxon day and the method of determining its divisions. To the mathematical treatment, I regret that I am unable to bring the scientific sense that it demands; but the results reached in my earliest pages are, I believe, accurate and, I hope, not without value. In the second part of this chapter, I make the Canonical Hours the basis of a detailed study of the Anglo-Saxon divisions of time, and seek to show what these divisions meant to clerk and layman. I use freely the Benedictine church offices, when they serve to fix the time of the hours; and have been much assisted by the labors of students of ecclesiastical institutions like Fosbroke (*British Monachism*,

1843) and Bouterwek (*Cædmon's Biblische Dichtungen*, 1854, Chap. VIII).

I am quite well convinced of the insufficient character of my study of the Middle-English Hours. Even this modest attempt to supplement work in the older field is much more than has yet been done; and my results here will, I doubt not, be confirmed by more thorough research. Lexicons contain much of the material that I have collected independently, but this fact does not diminish the worth of a tabulation of references, which, in their previous arrangement, could give but little help to the student of Anglo-Saxon Dæg-mæl.

The purpose of my second chapter is to present in Calendar form the Rubrics of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels; to trace the history of the connection between text and date from the early days of the Church until our own time; and, by a system of notes explanatory of the Rubrics, to discuss the Anglo-Saxon feasts and fasts. I mention necessary introductory details at the beginning of this chapter.

I had in mind to discuss the Year, Seasons and Day in Anglo-Saxon poetry; but I reserve this treatment on account of the length of my paper. A reference from my headings to Grein's *Sprachschatz* will, however, put at command the necessary material.

I have not deemed it necessary to swell my Bibliography with texts used for one or two references. These, and the Middle-English works employed, are sufficiently defined when mentioned in the body of the paper. The sources of much of my study of the Rubrics are given in the introduction to the second chapter.

Bibliography.

1. Leo Allatius, *De Mensura Temporum*. Coloniae Agrippinae, 1645.

2. B. Assmann, *Angelsachsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*. Grein, *Bibliothek der A.-S. Prosa*, III. Kassel, 1889.

3. J. H. Blunt, *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*. New York, 1889.

4. K. W. Bouterwek, *Cædmons des Angelsachsen biblische Dichtungen*. Einleitung, I–CCXXIII. Gütersloh, 1854.

5. K. W. Bouterwek, *Calendewide*, i. e., *Menologium Ecclesiae Anglo-Saxonicae Poeticum*. Gütersloh, 1858.

6. K. W. Bouterwek, *Screadunga* (pp. 23–31, *De Temporibus Anni*). Eberfeld, 1858.

7. A. E. Brae, *Chaucer's Astrolabe* (pp. 90–101, "Essay on Chaucer's 'Prime'"). London, 1870.

8. Edmund Brock, *13th Century Latin Description of Chilindre. Essays on Chaucer, his Words and Works*. Chaucer Society, 1868.

9. Marquis of Bute, *Roman Breviary*, published by Pius V. and Urban VIII. Edinburgh, 1879.

10. Oswald Cockayne, *Narratiunculae Anglice Conscriptae*. London, 1861 (cf. Baskerville, "Epistola Alexandri," *Anglia*, IV, 139–167).

11. Oswald Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England*. 3 vols. Rolls Series, 1864–1866.

12. Oswald Cockayne, *The Shrine*.[1] London, 1864–1869.

13. Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (I, XXVII sq., *Regularis Concordia Anglicae Nationis Sanctimonaliumque;* cf. Bibliography, sub. Logeman). London, 1846.

14. Gulielmus Durand, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* (1286).[2] E. Lauwermann, Venice, Valentine Press, 1589.

15. Elizabeth Elstob, *English Saxon Homily on the Birthday of St. Gregory*. London, 1709 (see Thorpe, *Homilies*).

[1] Missing from copy in Johns Hopkins University Library: Title-page, 17–32, 49–64, 81–96, 129–144, 161–176, 193. At the last moment I have availed myself of a complete copy in the G. P. Marsh Collection, Billings Library, University of Vermont.

[2] "Adjectum fuit praeterea aliud *Divinorum Officiorum Rationale* ab Joanne Beletho, Theologo Parisiensi ab hinc (1589) fere quadringentis annis conscriptum" (Title-page). 8°, 375 double pages. Rebound, April, 1880. Borrowed from Harvard Library (*Catalogue*, III, 614).

16. Rev. J. Forshall and Sir F. Madden, *Wycliffite Versions of the Holy Bible.* 4 vols. Oxford, 1850.

17. T. D. Fosbroke, *British Monachism* (pp. 28–38, "Dunstan's Concord of Rules"). London, 1843.

18. Samuel Fox, *Menologium seu Calendarium Poeticum.* Leicester, 1830.

19. J. A. Giles, *Complete Works of Beda.* 6 vols. London, 1843.

20. C. W. Goodwin, *Life of St. Guthlac.* London, 1848.

21. C. W. M. Grein, *Ælfric de Vetere et Novo Testamento, Pentateuch, etc. Bibliothek der A.-S. Prosa,* I. Kassel (1872), 1885.

22. Jacob Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* (Trsl., 4th edition, by Stallybrass). 3 vols. London, 1882.

23. R. T. Hampson, *Medii Aevi Kalendarium.* 2 vols. London, 1841.

24. W. C. Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* (Brand). 3 vols. London, 1870.

25. George Hickes, *Antiquae Literaturae Septentrionalis libri duo* (see Wanley). 3 vols. London, 1705.

26. George Hickes, *Letters between Dr. Hickes and a Popish Priest* (Appendix, "De Officiis Diurnalibus et Nocturnalibus;" translation by Wm. Elstob). London, 1705.

27. William Hone, *Every Day Book.* 2 vols. London, 1826.

28. John Johnson, *Collection of Laws and Canons of the Church of England.* Edited by Baron. Oxford, 1850.

29. J. M. Kemble, *Saxons in England* (Book I, Chap. XII). London, 1848.

30. F. Kluge, *Byrhtfer8's Handboc oder Enchiridion* (cf. Wülker, *Grundriss,* III, 627 sq.). *Anglia,* VIII, 293 sq.

31. Dr. Kurtz, *Church History.* Vol. I. Philadelphia, 1861.

32. John Lingard, *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church.* 2 vols. London, 1845.

33. H. Logeman, *The Rule of St. Benet* (Latin and Anglo-Saxon Interlinear Version.) E. E. T. Soc., 90, 1888.

34. H. Logeman, *Anglo-Saxonica Minora* (MSS., Royal 2. B. V. and Tib. A., III, folio 52*r*°). *Anglia*, XII, 513.

35. W. S. Logeman, *De Consuetudine Monachorum* (Latin and Anglo-Saxon Interlinear Version; cf. Dugdale, *Concordia*). *Anglia*, XIII, 365–454.

36. Thomas Marshall, *Quatuor D. N. Jesu Christi Evangeliorum Versiones perantique duae, etc.* (pp. 508–538, Notes to Rubrics). 4to (J. H. Library). Amstelaedami, 1684.

37. Abbé Migne, *Patrologia Latina* and *Patrologia Graeca* (cited by number).

38. Thomas Miller, *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People.* 2 parts. E. E. T. Soc., 1890–1891.

39. R. Morris, *Blickling Homilies of the 10th Century.* E. E. T. Soc. (58–63–73), 1874–1880.

40. Arthur Napier, *Wulfstan, Sammlung der ihm Zugeschriebene Homilien, etc.* Berlin, 1883.

41. Arthur Napier, *Altenglische Kleinigkeiten* (MS. Caligula, A. 15, folio 140b). *Anglia*, XI, 7.

42. Simon Newcomb and Edw. S. Holden, *Astronomy.* New York, 1887.

43. H. W. Norman, *Anglo-Saxon Version of the Hexameron of St. Basil.* London, 1849.

44. Francis Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa.* London, 1779.

45. Henry Petrie, *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (I, 100 sq. "Remarks on Chronology of Mediæval Historians"), 1848.

46. Ferdinand Piper, *Kalendarien und Martyrologien der Angelsachsen.* Berlin, 1862.

47. Reinhold Schmid, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen.* Leipzig, 1858.

48. Arnold Schröer, *De Consuetudine Monachorum*, MS. Tib. A., III, LXV, folio 174a ("Ælfric's Extract" or "L. Fragment," *Concordia*, 170–257). *Englische Studien*, IX, 290.

49. Arnold Schröer, *Die Angelsachsischen Prosabearbeitung der Benedictiner Regel. Bibliothek der A.-S. Prosa*, II. Kassel, 1885.

50. Arnold Schröer, *Die Winteney Version der Regula S. Benedicti.* Halle, 1888.

51. John Schilter, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum.* Vol. I, Part II, 63–69. Ulmae, 1728.

52. S. Seabury, *Theory and Use of the Church Calendar in Measurement of Time.* New York, 1872.

53. Walter W. Skeat, *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian and Old Mercian Versions.* Cambridge, 1871–1887.

54. Walter W. Skeat, *Chaucer's Treatise on the Astrolabe.* E. E. T. Soc., Extra Series, XVI, 1872.

55. Walter W. Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints,* I. E. E. T. Soc., 76, 82, 1881.

56. William Smith and Samuel Cheatham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* (s. v. "Hours of Prayer" and "Letania"). London, 1875, 1880.

57. Sir Henry Spelman, *Concilia, decreta, leges, constitutiones in re ecclesiarum orbis Britannice*[1] (cf. Thorpe, *Laws*). London, 1639.

58. R. Stevenson, *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmsis.* Surtees Society, 1840.

59. Henry Sweet, *King Alfred's West Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care.* E. E. T. S., 1871–1882.

60. Henry Sweet, *King Alfred's Orosius.* E. E. T. S., 1883.

61. B. Thomson, *Godcunde Lar and Þeowdom* ("Benedictine Service;" cf. Bouterwek, *Cædmon,* and Hickes, *Letters*). London, 1875.

62. B. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England.* London, 1840.

63. B. Thorpe, *Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (Ælfric). 2 vols. Ælfric Society, London, 1862.

64. B. Thorpe, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* 2 vols. Rolls Series, London, 1862.

65. Sharon Turner, *History of Anglo-Saxons.* 3 vols. London, 1836.

[1] Borrowed from Harvard Library (*Catalogue,* III, 4668).

66. Humfred Wanley, *Librorum Vet. Septentrionalium Catalogus* (Hickes, *Ant. Lit. Sept.*, III). Oxford, 1705.

67. Dr. Daniel Waterland, MS. Notes (made after 1720) in a copy of Somner's *Dictionary* (1659).[1]

68. Thomas Wright, *Treatises on Popular Science in the Middle Ages.* London, 1841.

69. Thomas Wright, *Homes of Other Days.* London, 1871.

70. Thomas Wright, *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, I. London, 1842.

71. Thomas Wright, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies.* Edited by R. P. Wülker. 2 vols. London, 1883.

72. Thomas Wright and J. O. Halliwell, *Reliquiae Antiquae.* 2 vols. London, 1841.

73. J. Zupitza, *Ein weiteres Brüchstück der Regularis Concordia*, MS. C. C. C. C., 201, S. 2. (Translation of *Concordia*, 617–753). Herrig, *Archiv.*, LXXXIV.

CHAPTER I.

THE ANGLO-SAXON DAY.

In treating of the Anglo-Saxon day, its divisions and the time and significance of each, we have to deal with conditions very different from those that govern our calculations to-day. The following passage from Newcomb and Holden's *Astronomy*, p. 217, will prepare us for the discussion to follow:—

"The division of the day into hours was, in ancient and medieval times, effected in a way very unlike that which we practice. Artificial time-keepers not being in general use, the two cardinal moments were sunrise or sunset, which marked the day as distinct from the night. . . . The interval between

[1] 1720 as a terminus a quo for the Notes is attested by Waterland's citations from Johnson's *Laws*. This copy of Somner is now in the Library of Dr. J. W. Bright.

sunrise and sunset was divided into twelve equal parts called hours, and, as this interval varied with the season, the length of the hour varied also. The night, whether long or short, was divided into hours of the same character, only when the night hours were long those of the day were short, and *vice versa*. These variable hours were called temporary hours. At the time of the Equinoxes both the day and night hours were of the same length as those we use, namely, the 24th part of the day. These were, therefore, called equinoctial hours."

The use of temporary hours among Jews, Greeks, and Romans is attested by many ancient writers cited by Leo Allatius in his learned treatise, *De Mensura Temporum*, Chap. IV. Among late Latin writers, Censorinus (*De die nat.*, Chap. XXIII, § 1 sq.) and Macrobius (*Saturnaliorum*, Lib. I, Chap. III, § 11) distinguish clearly between the Natural day of twelve temporary hours, beginning at sunrise and ending at sunset, and the Civil day of twenty-four hours, beginning at midnight.

Now, is this true of Anglo-Saxon times; are we to expect here also a distinction between Natural and Civil day, between temporary and equinoctial hours? This question can be linked with another: when was the Anglo-Saxon day beginning? Answers are not far to seek. Bede, the prop of all Anglo-Saxon science, tells us in his *De Temporum Ratione*, Chap. V (Migne's *Patr. Lat.*, 90, p. 309):

"Dies definitio bifariam dividitur, hoc est vulgariter et proprie. Vulgum enim omnem diem solis praesentiam super terras appellat. Proprie autem dies XXIV horis, id est circuitu solis totum orbis lustrantis impletur."

Ælfric, *De Temporibus*, a translation of Bede's *Starcraft*[1] (Wright, *Pop. Science*, 2; Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 236)—henceforth quoted as Bede[2]—follows his master closely:

"We hataþ ænne dæg fram Sunnan upgange oþ æfen. ac swa þeah is on bocum getealdto anum dagum fram þære Sun-

[1] Upon the Relation of this work to its originals, see Reum, *Anglia*, X, 457 sq.

nan upgange oð þæt heo eft becume þær heo ær upstah—on þæm fæce sind getealde feower and twenti tida."

That remarkable potpourri, Byrhtferð's *Handboc* (*Anglia*, VIII, 317, 8), yields the following:

"On twam wisum ys se dæg gecweden, naturaliter et vulgariter, þæt ys gecyndlice and ceorlice þæt ys þæs dæges gecynd þæt he hæbbe feower and twentig tida fram þære sunnan upspringe þæt he eft up hyre leoman ætywe. Vulgaris vel artificialis dies est þæt biþ ceorlisc dæg oððe cræftlice fram þære sunnan anginne þæt heo to setle ga and eft cum mancynne to blisse."

Here then is the most direct evidence that the Anglo-Saxon day, natural or artificial, began at sunrise.[1]

Prime, which must be sung at sunrise,—"Primsang on þære forman dæg tid þæt is be sunnan upgange," Bouterwek's *Caedmons biblische Dichtungen*, p. CXCVI—shows the ecclesiastical time of beginning the day.[2]

The Anglo-Saxon usage does not correspond, therefore, to the Roman, nor to the sunset-beginning of the Hebrews, but to the one employed in the Saviour's lifetime, the Chaldaean and Persian (Bede, *De Ratione Temporum*, Chap. V, M. *P. L.*, 90, p. 313). Durand's *Rationale*, VII, I, 16, p. 281, shows that, even in his day (1286), a sunrise-beginning was favored. All time-conditions were altered by the introduction of clocks (*infra*); but Chaucer mentions the "Day artificial," that lasted from "the sonne arysing til hit go to reste" (*Astrolabe*, Part II, 7).

[1] The meaning of *morgen* in many places is corroborative evidence: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1106, on þe niht þe on mergen wæs Cena Domini; *Leechdoms*, III, 6, and þonne oniht þonne Sumor gæþ on tun on mergen; *Calendewide*, p. 16, l. 218. In these cases the *eras* and *mane* meanings correspond. *To mergen, eras* is of frequent occurrence: *Genesis*, XIX, 1; *Exodus*, VII, 15 (*mane*); VIII, 10 (*eras*); *Ex.*, IX, 5; XVII, 9; XXXII, 5 (*eras*), etc., etc.

[2] That *Nocturnalis Synaxis* (*Excerptions* of Ecgbriht, 28, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 328), *Matutinum* (*Benedictine Rule*, Chap. XVI) and *Uhtsang* (*Canons of Ælfric*, 19, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 444) precede Primsang, does not indicate the Roman midnight-beginning of the day, but the mere order of work of the monks, after leaving their beds.

We have seen that the Anglo-Saxon distinguished between Natural and Artificial day. As upon this distinction hangs the difference between the equal or equinoctial and the unequal or temporary hours, a detailed treatment of each class of day is necessary.

I. *Natural Day.*

The whole matter is put concisely by Bede, when he tells us (*De Temporum Ratione*, Chap. III, M. *P. L.*, 90, p. 392) that, if we count the day from sunrise to sunset, it will contain more equinoctial hours in summer than in winter. This recognition of the Natural day for common use is confirmed in Bede[2] (Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 260), and equinoctial hours are mentioned: *De Temporum Ratione*, Chap. XXXI, XXXIII; *De Ratione Computus*, Chap. II; *De Divisione Temporis*, Chap. VIII; *Ecclesiastical History*, I, 1 (Giles, p. 30, l. 27).

The Natural day is treated in a *Book of Martyrs* of King Ælfred's reign (Cockayne):

Shrine,	p.	69.	March.	Night,	12	hrs.	Day,	12	hrs.
"	"	79.	April.	"	10	"	"	14	"
"	"	99.	June.	"	6	"	"	18	"
"	"	110.	July.	"	8	"	"	16	"
"	"	124.	August.	"	10	"	"	14	"
"	"	153.	November.	"	16	"	"	8	"

This list is remarkably supplemented by Byrhtferð:

B. 59,	*Anglia*,	VIII,	305, 32.	Jan.	Night,	16	hrs.	Day,	8	hrs.
" 84,	"	"	311, 5.	May.	"	8	"	"	16	"
" 86,	"	"	311, 22.	Aug.	"	10	"	"	14	"
" 86,	"	"	311, 27.	Sept.	"	12	"	"	12	"
" 87,	"	"	311, 32.	Oct.	"	14	"	"	10	"
" 88,	"	"	311, 42.	Dec.	"	18	"	"	6	"[1]

[1] The hours of day and night in each month are given: Cotton Vitellius E., XVIII; Cotton, Titus D., XXVII (Hampson, *Kalendarium*, I, 422 sq., 435 sq).

Of course any systematic time-measurement (Byrhtferð, 115–120, *Anglia*, VIII, 317–18) presupposes the use of the Natural day, but this will be treated later.[1]

II. *Artificial Day.*

The evidence that unequal hours were employed by the Anglo-Saxons is very conclusive. In the passage mentioned under the Natural day, Bede shows that the twelve hours of the Artificial day—the time from sunrise to sunset—are necessarily unequal; and the frequent mention of *aequinoctiales horae* argues for those of another order (Bede[2], Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 236, 256). Ælfric, who had translated portions of the *De Temporibus* (see Bede[2]), and assented elsewhere in his works to Bede's astronomical teachings (Thorpe, *Homilies*, I, 100, "Se lareow Beda tilþ us mid miclum gesceade, etc.") clearly recognizes the Artificial division, Thorpe, *Homilies*, II, 388, 14: "An wæcce hæfð þreo tida, feower wæccan gefylleþ twelf tida, swa fela tida hæfð seo niht." The writer of the Ælfredian Metres had unequal hours in mind, when he departed thus from his original (IV, 18):

"Hwæt þu fæder weorcest
sumorlange dagas swiþe hate;
þæm winterdagum wundrum sceorta
tida getiohhast."

In Anglo-Saxon times, unequal hours had their support in the Hours of the Canons. Though these were strictly for "hooded men" or monks (cf. Opening of Benedictine service, and Byrhtferð, 123, *Anglia*, VIII, 319, "gemearcode cnihtas"), there can be but little doubt that with them the laity were perfectly familiar. The Homily on the fifth Sunday in Quadragesima (Assmann, Grein's *Bibliothek der A.-S. Prosa*, III, Chap. XII, p. 144) directs laymen who cannot attend daily

[1] References to Chaucer are interesting here: *Complaint of Mars*, l. 122. "A naturel day in derke, I let her dwelle;" *Astrolabe*, II, § 7, l. 12, cited Skeat's Note to above (*Complete Works*, I, p. 499), "The day naturel, that is to seyn 24 hours."

services to be present on Sundays and feast-days at Uhtsang and Mass and Evensong; and in the *Blickling Homilies*, p. 47, every Christian man is directed to cross himself seven times a day at the Canonical Hours.

The Hours of the Canons are necessarily unequal. The gloss to Midday is always "sexta hora," and to None, "nona hora" (*Benedictine Rule*); in the *Leechdoms*, II, 116, 7, "to middes morgenes" is substituted for Undern, the day's third hour (*Benedictine Rule;* Bouterwek, *Caedmon's biblische Dichtungen*, p. CXCVI; *Shrine*, p. 79). Now, as Prime is necessarily at sunrise (*supra*), it is easy to see that, were equinoctial hours employed, on December 25th, when the sun rises at 8.20 a. m. and sets at 3.40 p. m. (Horology), Undern would not fall at mid-morning, but at 11.20 a. m.; Midday ("sexta hora") at 2.20 p. m., and None, three hours later at the end of the evening twilight. The temporary hours are, without question, those in use (cf. Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, s. v. "Hours of Prayer").

I shall now present a scientific study of the data, given in connection with an Anglo-Saxon Horologium (MS. Cotton Tib. A., III, fol. 176, *Leechdoms*, III, 218 sq.). This will disclose the old method of marking time and will aid our consideration of the Artificial day and unequal hours.

Horology Notes.[1]

1. On account of the ancient error in the Calendar, December 25th in the 10th Century, would be December 30th, according to corrected methods of calculation; January 6th, January 11th, etc.

[1] In connection with this attempt to

> "tell what hour o' th' day
> The clock does strike, by Algebra,"

I must acknowledge the generous assistance of my friend, Dr. Horace C. Richards, of the University of Pennsylvania. For any Hudibras-like blunders, I am, of course, personally responsible.

Horology—Gnomon, 6 ft.

	Shadows.		Latitude.	Declination.	Horology Undern.	Horology None.	Sunrise.	Sunset.	Standard Artificial Undern.	Standard Artificial None.
	None or Undern.	Midday.								
					A. M.	P. M.	A. M.	P. M.	A. M.	P. M.
Dec. 25th.....	26½	24	52° 48′	S. 23° 9′	11–10	12–50	8–20	3–40	10–10	1–50
Jan. 6th.....	25	22	52° 59′	S. 21° 46′	10–50	1–10	8–11	3–49	10–6	1–54
Jan. 21st.....	21	18+	53° 6′	S. 18° 39′	10–40	1–20	7–48	4–12	9–54	2–6
Feb. 4th.....	17½	15	53° 37′	S. 14° 35′	10–27	1–33	7–22	4–38	9–41	2–19
Feb. 17th.....	15	12	53° 20′	S. 10° 6′	10–3	1–57	6–56	5–4	9–28	2–32
March 6th.....	13	9½	54° 6′	S. 3° 36′	9–25	2–35	6–20	5–40	9–10	2–50
March 21st..... (Equinox).	11	8½	57° 4′	N. 2° 17′	9–22	2–38	5–47	6–13	8–54	3–6
April 5th.....	9½	7	57° 25′	N. 8° 1′	9–2	2–58	5–17	6–43	8–39	3–21
April 20th.....	8+	6	58° 15′	N. 13° 15′	8–58	3–2	4–47	7–13	8–24	3–26
May 6th.....	8	4½	54° 48′	N. 17° 55′	8–34	3–26	4–17	7–43	8–9	3–51
May 21st.....	7	4	54° 51′	N. 21° 9′	8–38	3–22	3–55	8–5	7–58	4–2
June 1st.....	7+	4	56° 22′	N. 22° 40′	8–28	3–32	3–44	8–16	7–52	4–8
June 13th.....	7½	4	57° 6′	N. 23° 25′	8–16	3–44	3–38	8–22	7–49	4–11
June 24th.....	8	4	57° 55′	N. 23° 13′	8–10	3–50	3–40	8–20	7–50	4–10
July 6th.....	8	4+	57° 6′	N. 22° 5′	8–11	3–49	3–48	8–12	7–54	4–6
July 21st.....	8+	4½	56° 17′	N. 19° 27′	8–20	3–40	4–7	7–53	8–4	3–56
Aug. 8th.....	8½	5+	55° 33′	N. 14° 37′	8–18	3–42	4–38	7–22	8–19	3–41
Aug. 21st.....	9	6	55° 22′	N. 10° 21′	8–52	3–8	5–3	6–57	8–32	3–28
Sept. 5th.....	10½	7	54° 17′	N. 4° 55′	9–8	2–52	5–35	6–26	8–47	3–13
Sept. 20th..... (Equinox.)	12	9	55° 24′	S. 0° 55′	9–38	2–22	6–11	5–49	9–5	2–55
Oct. 6th.....	14	11	54° 17′	S. 7° 5′	9–40	2–20	6–39	5–21	9–20	2–40
Oct. 21st.....	16+	13	52° 43′	S. 12° 31′	10–14	1–46	7–10	4–50	9–35	2–25
Nov. 5th.....	19	17	53° 21′	S. 17° 12′	10–36	1–24	7–39	4–21	9–50	2–10
Nov. 20th.....	24	21	53° 16′	S. 20° 48′	10–45	1–15	8–3	3–57	10–2	1–58
Dec. 14th.....	27	25	52° 58′	S. 23° 25′	11–12	12–48	8–23	3–37	10–12	1–48

2. The variation of Latitude shows how hopelessly inaccurate were the monkish calculations. As, however, it is natural to suppose that the mistake would be smaller when the shadow was longer, I have taken the mean of the "winter latitudes," 53° 20′. Learning the Declination for each of the given dates from the *Greenwich Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac*, I determined from the formula, Cos h = — tan ϕ tan d (h = hour-angle; ϕ = latitude; d = declination), the time of sunrise and sunset. As all glosses of Undern and None are "tertia hora" and "nona hora," and the Horology tells us that they are on equal sides of Midday (both having the same shadow), I have placed what I may term for convenience the "standard artificial" Undern at half-way between sunrise and Midday, the "standard artificial" None at half-way between Midday and sunset.

3. Although the Undern and None of the Horologium are too inaccurate for scientific purposes, they are useful in pointing out the probability of unequal hours in the calculation. By the formula in Newcomb and Holden's *Astronomy*, p. 44, $\sin^2 \frac{1}{2} h = \frac{\cos.(\phi - d) - \sin a}{2 \cos \phi \cos d}$ when $\tan a = \frac{l}{m}$ (a = altitude; l = height of gnomon; m = shadow), I have discovered that the hours of the Horology approach far nearer to the "standard artificial" Undern and None, than to the equinoctial hours, 9 a. m. and 3 p. m.

4. The writer of the Horology knew so little of Astronomy that he gives us different lengths for the shadows at the two Equinoxes—an impossibility, of course. This in itself does not impeach the value of his measurements, for, as I have shown (1), March 21st was not really the Equinox at all. A passage from Bede,[2] *Leechdoms*, III, 256, § 6, shows that other men of his day were farther from the truth than he:

"Manigra manna cwyddung is þæt seo lenctenlice emniht gebyrige rihtlice on octava Kl. Aprilis, þæt is on Marian Mæsse dæge."

5. The editor of Pope Gregory's *Liber Sacramentorum* shows by citing (M. *P. L.* 78, p. 447) sentences at the close of an Horology by Bede, that the arrangement of this was to suit the Canonical Hours,—whose inequality demands no further discussion. This is strong accumulative evidence to the truth of results otherwise obtained.

6. The following references to Bede may be useful in this connection. In the *Libellus de Mensura Horologii* (M. *P. L.* 90, pp. 951–954) the Horology is carefully pictured and described. For length of shadows during different months of the year, and in different parts of the world, compare "Glossae et Scholiae," M. *P. L.* 90, 447, cited by Hampson, *M. A. Kal.*, Glossary, s. v. "Hora," and *De Ratione Temporum*, XXXIII, p. 447. Various pictorial representations of the Horology will be found: M. *P. L.* 90, pp. 433–436.

7. A treatise on the length of the days of the year, MS. Harleian 941, 15th Century, printed in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I, 318, has this heading: "Thys tretys was made at Oxynforde be the new Kalendre and proved in alle the Universyty." The latitude of Oxford is, however, 2° less than that of our Horology.

Long after Anglo-Saxon times, the Artificial day and unequal hours were known and employed. Philip of Thaun (circa 1121) notes the two kinds of day (*Li Cumpoz*, Mall, Strassburg, 1873, p. 11, l. 323, or *Livre des Creatures*, Wright's *Popular Science*, p. 25); Durand (1286) recognizes the temporary hours in his *Rationale*, v, 2, p. 138, but the *13th Century Latin Description of the Chilindre* (p. 51) gives the best evidence of the persistence of the Artificial day; I quote from Brock's translation: "When you wish to know the hours on any day, turn the style or indicator over the part of the month in which you are, and the shadow of the style will show you the hours passed, that is *the 12 hours of the day, whether the day be longer or shorter.*" This proves, as Mr. Brock says, that the hours used are unequal hours.

Even in Chaucer's day, when artificial time-keepers were in general use, temporary hours were not altogether a thing of the past. Equal and unequal hours exist side by side in the *Astrolabe* (Brae, 90–101):

Astrolabe, II, 8. "To turn the howres inequales in howres equales—knowe the nombre of the degrees in the houris inequales and departe hem by 15 and tak ther thin houris equales."

Astrolabe, II, 10 is interesting in connection with the use of planetary hours in the Knight's Tale (cf. Skeat's Notes, Clarendon Press Ed.):

Understond wel that thise houres inequalis ben cleped houris of planetes, and understond wel that some tyme ben thei lengere by day [than] by nyht and som tyme the contrarie.—Compare Skeat's *Astrolabe*, Preface LXI; II, § 7, p. 21.

The Artificial day will attract further attention, when I come to speak of the Canonical Hours.

Divisions of Night and Day.

In an interesting essay, "Die Aelteste Zeittheilung des indogermanischen Volkes" (*Sammlung gemein. wissenschaftlicher Vorträge*, XIII Ser, Heft 296, Berlin, 1878), p. 44 (324), Dr. O. Schrader has discussed the Indogermanic habit of counting by nights, and the precedence given to night in many words,—e. g. raucapativâ, Νυχθήμερον, etc.

Since the Anglo-Saxons also employed this method of counting (*Menology*, l. 25, nihtgerimes; l. 48, ymb feower niht, etc., etc.), and since, whatever might be true of the Christian English, the Natural day began at sunset with their forefathers (Tacitus, *Germania*, 11: "Nox ducere diem videtur;" compare Kluge, *Etymologische Wörterbuch*, s. v. Abend, Fastabend, Sonnabend), I shall begin with the divisions of the night. Of these there are several Anglo-Saxon descriptions:

(a). Bede,[2] *Leechdoms*, III, 242 (cf. Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, I, 86–87), "Seo niht hæfð seofon dælas fram þære sunnan setlunge oð hire upgang. An þæra dæla is Crepusculum, þæt is Æfengloma. Oþer is Vesperum þæt is

Æfen, þonne se æfensteorra betwux þære repsunge æteowaþ. Þridde is Conticinium þonne ealle þing sweowiað on hyra reste. Feorða is Intempestum, þæt is Midniht. Fifta is Gallicinium, þæt is Hancred. Syxta is Matutinum vel Aurora, þæt is Dægred. Seofoða is Diluculum, þæt is se ær marien betweox þam Dægrede and sunnan upgange" (Capitals my own). Compare the above with the original, Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, VIII, M. *P. L.*, 90, 323.

(b). Byrhtferð, *Handboc*, 124, *Anglia*, VIII, 319, 26, shows that he knows his Bede:[1]

Seo niht hafað seofon todælednyssa. Crepusculum ys seo forme þæt ys Æfen-gloma, oðer ys Vesperum þæt ys Æfen oððe Hrepsung, þridde Conticinium, þæt is Switima oððe Salnyssa timan, feorðe Intempestivum, þæt ys Midniht oððe Unworclic tima, fifte Gallicinium þæt ys Hancred, þon sceolon gode munecas arisan and gode singan, syxte Matutinum vel Aurora, þæt ys Dægred, þon eac gewuniað þa syfre godes þegnas mid mode and stefne god towurðian and benedictus dñs bliðelice up ahebban. Seo seofoðe ys þære nihte todælednyss Diluculum gecigeð þæt ys ærne mergen betwux Dægrede and þære sunnan uppgange (I again capitalize).

(c). *Supplement* to Ælfric's *Glossary*, Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, I, col. 175:

Mane Ærmyrgen	Diluculum Dægred
Crepusculum Tweone	Aurora Dægrima
leoht vel Deorcung	Prima Prim
Conticinium vel Gallicinium	Matutinum Uhten-tid
Hancred	Tertia Undern
Intempesta Nox Midniht	Sexta Middæg
Maligna Lux vel Dubia	Suprema Ofer-non
Tweonul Leoht	oþþe geloten dæg
	Vesperum Æfen
	Serum Bed-tid.

[1] This is natural as Byrhtferð had written a commentary upon Bede's scientific works: (Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 506).

Under (c) I have included for convenience the divisions of the day. Of this Bede gives three main portions—if we can regard as genuine the tractate, *De Divisione Temporis*, M. *P. L.* 90, 656—and is closely followed by Byrhtferð, 123, *Anglia*, VIII, 319, 21:

"Se dæg hæfð þreo todælednyssa. Seo forme hatte Mane, þæt ys Ærne merigen, and seo oðer ys gecweden Meridies, and seo þridde ys geciged Suppremum þæt ys on Æfen oððe seo ytemeste tid."[1]

Each of the more important time-divisions given above will be discussed in connection with the Canonical Cursus.

Anglo-Saxon Horologies.

It is difficult to give briefly the long pedigree of the Horology. Allatius, *De Mensura Temporum*, p. 33 sq., argues that it was known among the Hebrews, discusses the Clepsydra of the Greeks (cf. Aristophanes, *Aves*, 1695; *Acharnians*, 693; *Vespae*, 93; Aristotle, *Poetics*, 7, 11), and shows that water-clocks and sun-dials were known at Rome at the time of the first Punic War (Pliny, VII, Chap. LX). References to Vitruvius, Petronius Arbiter and Censorinus, given by Beaupré Bell, *Archæologia*, VI, 133, and by Gough, *Archæologia*, X, 173, show the antiquity of the Horology.[2]

In a scholarly article, "Recherches sur les Horloges des Anciens" (1716), *Histoire de L'Académie des Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, p. 148, L'Abbé Sallier mentions—citing in each case his authority—the more important time-keepers of early Christian times; the sun-dials of Boethius and of Cassiodorus;

[1] Their Anglo-Saxon names constitute the main interest that these hours have for us. The divisions and their Latin names were known long before Bede. Bede's list follows closely the spaces of time, given by Macrobius, *Saturnaliorum*, I, III, 12, and agrees, in all important particulars, with the hours of the ancients discussed by Lalamantius, "De Tempore," etc., in 1570 (Gronovius, *Thesaurus Graecarum Antiquitatum*, 1701, vol. 9, p. 1047).

[2] Cf. "Galenus ueber Sonnen und Wasseruhren," N. Sauppe, *Philologus*, XXIII (1866), 448.

the handsome clocks, sent by Paul 1st to Pepin le Bref, and by Haroun Alraschid to Charlemagne; the great water-clock for the nightly hours, made by order of Pacificus, Archdeacon of Verona (d. 846); the golden horologe fashioned by Leon the Philosopher for the emperor, Theophilus; and finally the wonderful mechanical invention of Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II. (circa 1000).

In respect to time-markers, the Anglo-Saxons were not as fortunate as their neighbors. Of water-clocks and sand-glasses they probably knew little. Asser, in describing Alfred's famous candle-expedient (Wise, Ed., p. 67), tells us the straits of the king on cloudy days and on dark nights; and the time-divisions enumerated (*supra*), and many passages in prose and poetry show how entirely the monks and people relied upon the heavens as their guide (Boethius, 39, 13, Fox, 223, 34; Boethius, 4, Fox, 8, 3; Ælfred's *Metres*, IV, 13 (Latin, V, 10); *Blickling Homilies*, 137, 29; 163, 28).

However much the stars and the shadow of the human body[1] may have aided them, the sun-dial was the chief chronometer. In his medley of Latin and Saxon, Byrhtferð (*Handboc*, 114, *Anglia*, VIII, 317) describes the dial or dæg-mæl of his day; on the 6th leaf of the MS. Cott. Tiberius, C. VI, 11th Century, a figure is neatly drawn and named "Horologium Solare" (W. H. Smyth, *Archæologia*, XXXIII, 10); but the Saxon remains in England help us most here. In the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, Vol. XXIX (1873), p. 281, three Saxon dials are pictured and described:

1st. The dial at Kirkdale in Rydale in the North Riding. The writer in the *Journal*, Cuming, does not note that a handsome plate of this was accompanied by an excellent article by Brooke (*Archæologia*, V, 188). The inscription upon this is so valuable a bit of Anglo-Saxon that I append it in toto:

[1] I have discussed at length above an horology with a 6 ft. gnomon. In connection with this, I must refer to a pamphlet by Dr. Foerster, "Ueber Zeitmaase und ihre Verwaltung durch die Astronomie," Berlin, 1872, pp. 20–21 (*Sammlung Wiss. Vorträge*, I Ser., Heft 5).

"Orm · Gamal · suna · bohte · sanctus · Gregorius minster · þonne · hit · wes æl to · brocan ȝ tofalan. Chehitle ȝ man (Hübner, from whom Earle translates, *A. S. Literature*, p. 49: "ȝ he hit let man") newan from grunde Christe and Sanctus Gregorius in Eadward dagum cñg · in Tosti dagum eorl."

Under the dial.

"And Haward me wroht and Brand pr̃s."

Around radii of dial

"þis is daeges s(æ)l merca
(To sunn) a Tillum (win)tere(s).[1]

2nd. The dial on the south side of the old Saxon church at Bishopstone, Sussex (Compare *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1840, p. 496, cited by Cuming). Upon it is inscribed the name "Eadric."

3rd. Mural Solarium on south face of nave near porch of Bricet Church, Suffolk, 1096.

Earle (loc. cit.) mentions, upon the authority of Hübner—not accessible to me—several dials with vernacular inscriptions in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

Artificial time-keepers—i. e. clocks, in our sense of the word—were not introduced into England until the end of the 13th Century. With the fine-money of Ralph of Hengham, Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, a clock-tower was built near Westminster in 1288 (*Archæologia*, v, 416); MS. Cott. Galba E., iv, 14, fol. 103 (quoted *Archæologia*, xxxiii, 8), mentions among the items of expense at Canterbury Cathedral in 1292, "novum orologium magnum in ecclesia, pretium xxx li;" the "engine of Richard de Wallingford, Abbot of St. Albans in 1326, which showed the fixed stars and planets, the ebbing and flowing of the sea, the hours and the minutes of the hours" was justly famous; but the oldest English clock-relic was made in 1340 by Peter Lightfoot, a monk of Glastonbury, for Adam de Sudbury, his abbot (*Archæologia*, xxxiii, 11–12).

[1] The bracketed letters constitute a "very ingenious conjecture" by Mr. Manning of Godelming, cited by Brooke. I am disposed to accept his reading; but Brooke's Chehitle is clearly a Saxon Mrs. Harris.

The artificial system of time in use among the Anglo-Saxons was derived from classical sources (cf. Lalamantius, *Thes. Graec. Antiq.*, Vol. IX, 1047). It has been treated by Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, Chap. III; *De Ratione Computus*, II; *De Divisione Temporis*, I; but the only Saxon description is by Byrhtferð (*Handboc*, 115–121, *Anglia*, VIII, 317–318). I give his table:

564 Atoms	make a	Momentum (Styrung).
4 Momenta	"	" Minutum.
2½ Minuta	"	" Punctus (Prica).
4 Puncti	"	" Hora (Tid).
6 Horae	"	" Quadrans (Fyrðling).
4 Quadrantes	"	" Dies (Daeg).

Let us reduce this, for the sake of convenience, to our present standard:

376 Atoms	= 1 Minute.
1 Ostentum	= 1 Minute.
1 Momentum	= 1½ Minutes.
1 Minutum	= 6 Minutes.
1 Punctus (Prica)[1]	= 15 Minutes.
4 Puncti	= 1 Hour.

The guardian of the horology, who, like the *παρήτρια* of the Greeks, was supposed to announce the hours, was known by various names: "horarum receptor" (Du Cange's *Glossarium* s. v.), "horoscopus" or "daegmaelsceawere" (Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, I, 188, 34; cf. note), and perhaps "circa" ('*Concordia Regularis*,' l. 981, Logeman, *Anglia*, XIII). The hours were announced by a bell; *Colloquy of Ælfric*, Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, I, 103:

Master—"Who awakes you at uhtsong?"

[1] As Bosworth-Toller shows in its excellent treatment of the word, a prica may be also the fifth part of an hour (cf. *Leechdoms*, III, 242, 7; III, 253, 17; Dietrich, *Niedner's Zeitschrift*, XXVI, 165).

Discipulus—"Sometimes I hear the bell (cnyll), and get up; sometimes my master arouses me roughly with a stick."

"Canons of Northumbrian Priests" (950), 36, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 318, "Gif preost on gesetne timan tida ne ringe, etc;" "Canons under Edgar" (960), 45, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 399, "And we læraþ þæt man on rihtne timan tida ringe; Schröer, *Benedictine Rule*, XLIII, p. 67, 20, þæt beacn þæs bellhringes (signum); XLVIII, p. 72, 8, Rubric, Be getacniendum tidum Godes weorces = Winteney Version, 97, Be þam godcundan tyde hu careful sceal beo þeo bellringestre, þat hig beon ariht geringde; XLVIII, 72, 11, 14; *Concordia* (*Anglia*, XIII), l. 212, 218, 247, 256, 274, 360, 408, 592, 725, 964; Assmann, *Homilies*, XIV, l. 106, Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, p. 168. This will be discussed under None.

Length of Sunday.[1]

Both the seventh and first days of the week were rest-days under the old dispensation (Exodus, XII, 16), and the meaning of "Sabbatum" is, therefore, not a little confused in the early English monuments. Of the many examples that present themselves, I select a few from the *Anglo-Saxon Gospels:* Matt., XII, 8,—*τοῦ σαββάτου*,—Vulgate, Sabbati, Corpus MS. restedæges, Hatton MS. restes-dayges, Lindisfarne Gloss, to sunna-dæ and to sæternes-dæg, wæs ðæra Judea sunna-dæg; Mark, XV, 42,—*παρασκευὴ ὃ ἐστι προσάββατον*,—Vulg. Parasceve quod est ante Sabbatum; Corp. Hat., þæt is ær sæterdæge, Rushworth MS., Lind. Gl., þæt is fore sunna-dæg; Luke, XXIII, 54,—*σάββατον ἐπέφασκε*,—Vulg., Sabbatum illucescebat, Corp. Hat., sæterdæg onlyhte, Rush, Lind. Gl., sunnadæg inlixade (Rush. -ende); Luke, XXIII, 56,—*τὸ μὲν σάββατον*,—Vulg., et quidem Sabbato, Corp. Hat., on sæterndæg, Rush, synna-dæg, Lind. Gl., sunna-dæg. In Bede, *Eccl.*

[1] Most of the material given in this discussion has been already printed by me in an Article upon "The Anglo-Saxon Sabbath," *Nation*, Vol. 56, No. 1448, March 30, 1893.

Hist., III, XIV (17), 208, 2, mention is made of "one of the rest-days that is now called Sunday."

This consideration of the regard paid to Sunday as a Jewish Sabbath will prepare us for the discussion to follow. Bede *De Temporum Ratione*, VI, M. *P. L.*, 90, 313, directs "that the English Sabbath, like the Jewish, be observed from evening to evening." The Anglo-Saxon laws are the chief testimony to this observance: compare Withred (697 A. D.), Thorpe, *A. L.*, 17, Schmid, 16; Theodore, "Penitentiale," XVII, 6, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 283; XXXVIII, 8, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 298. At a later day the Sabbath rest was extended to include the time between Saturday at None and Monday's dawn: compare Edgar's Laws, II, 5, Schmid, 188, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 112; Canute, I, 14, Schmid, 262, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 157. What was the reason for this change? Lingard tells us (*History of Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. 1845, I, 341): "At a later period, some time before the reign of Edgar, though probably no change had taken place in the ecclesiastical computation, the freedom of the Sunday was enlarged in favor of the working population." This could be debated; but another question presents itself. Why did Sunday receive honor in the Anglo-Saxon Church? Two answers are ready from Anglo-Saxon churchmen:

(1). Ælfric, whose conservatism is well known, holds to the teaching of the Fathers (*Homilies*, II, 206, 30): "Saturday was called rest-day until Christ's passion. On that day Christ's body lay in the tomb, and he arose from death on Sunday, and this day is the day of rest to all Christian men, and holy, on account of Christ's resurrection. We must ever celebrate this day with spiritual honor," etc.

(2). There were, however, other churchmen at this period who were not unaffected by the theories that had filtered into the Church a few centuries before (Alcuin, *Lib. de Divinis Officiis*, XXVII, M. *P. L.*, 101, § 487, p. 1226). One of these was the strong advocate of the Sunday observance in the collection of homilies classed under the name of Wulfstan. He agrees, of course, with the views of Ælfric (XLIV, 222, 28),

but to him the Lord's resurrection was not the only thing that made Sunday a rest-day. The catalogue of Scriptural events that he gives shows the blending of the Jewish Sabbath with the rest-day of the new dispensation: XLIII, 210, 10, "On this day (sunnan-dæg) was Adam the first man created, and on this day Moses and his troop crossed the Red Sea dry-shod. On this day the Lord began to feed the people with manna, the heavenly meat. The Lord said: 'Six days are given you to labor, but the seventh is the holy rest-day;'" XLIII, 211, 11, "On Sunday was Christ baptized, and on the same day the Spirit descended upon his Apostles."

The Wulfstan homilist follows the laws of his day in directing that the holy Sunday be observed "fram non-tide þæs sæterndæges oð monandæges lihtincge" (XLIII, 207, 10). Compare XLIII, 205, 8; 208, 10 (the very words of Canute's law); 210, 3, 10; 211, 10, 15, 18, 28–29; 212, 7; XLIV (37), 219, 11, 25; 220, 1, 20; 222, 1, 14, 30; 225, 14, 27; XLV (38), 230, 10; L (35), 272, 14; LVII, 293, 2; 296, 30. He had other than legal reasons in favor of the correctness of this observance. Very strong proof is found in the testimony of Nial, the Scotch deacon (Wulfstan, XLIII, 211, 27), who had enjoyed the exceptional privilege of a five-weeks' visit to Paradise, and had declared upon his return, "that God was violently opposed to any work between None, Saturday and Monday's dawn." Another homilist of 150 years later had even stronger support (Morris, *Old English Homilies*, 1st Ser., E. E. T. Soc., Vols. 29, 43, IV, p. 44; *Early English Specimens*, I; III, A. 20, 80). The Lord is made to say: "Arise now, Paul, arise; I grant rest, according to your request from Saturday at None until Monday's dawn, even until Domesday."

Sunday was doubtless strictly observed among the Anglo-Saxons. The Laws, in many places, forbid trading, hunting, travelling, marriage and executions upon the Lord's Day. We have besides a remarkable bit of evidence from the early eleventh-century *Colloquy of Ælfric*, Wright-Wülker, *Vocabu-*

laries, I, 92. The hunter is asked: "Did you hunt to-day?" He replies: "I did not because it is Sunday, but yesterday I hunted."

The Canonical Hours.

Bouterwek has devoted a chapter of his *Cædmon* (Chap. VII, pp. CLXXIX–CXCII) to "Das Benediktiner Officium," and Fosbroke in his *British Monachism*, 3rd Ed., 1843, Chap. IV, p. 28 sq., has discussed in detail the *Concordia Regularis* (*Constitutions of Æthelwold*).[1]

This does not preclude a treatment of the subject from a point of view, so different as my own. Consistently with the general object of my paper, the Canonical Hours will be viewed rather as divisions of the temporal day than as points of time, having no significance save as seasons of prayer, and deriving their only importance from the scriptural events they recalled.

The history of the Canonical Hours in the early church has been fully traced (cf. Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, s. v. "Hours of Prayer"); a few citations from the Fathers are all-sufficient to show their origin. Tertullian, "De Jejuniis," M. *P. L.*, 2, Chap. X, p. 1007, mentions three Hours of Prayer, "tertia," "sexta" and "nona;" Cyprian, M. *P. L.*, 4, 559, and Clement of Alexandria, M. *P. G.*, 2, 455, give the same number; Origen, "De Oratione," Chap. XII, M. *P. G.*, 11, p. 457, names "sexta hora (Acts X, 9), mane (Ps. V, 4), vesperum (Ps. CXL, 2), and nocturnum (Mark, I, 35"); Jerome, "Epistles," 22, M. *P. L.*, 22, p. 422, five, "tertia," "sexta," "nona," "diluculum" and "vesperum;" but in "Epistle 30," loc. cit., 1119, he excludes "diluculum" in favor of "media nox;" *Apostolic Constitutions* (end of 4th Century), Donaldson, Edinburgh, 1870, p. 247, differs from

[1] In *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1893, I have endeavored to put beyond question the identity of these works; and to show, by internal and external evidence, that Æthelwold was the author.

Jerome in substituting "gallicinium" for "diluculum;" in *Benedictine Rule* (c. 530), M. *P. L.*, 66, the seven Hours, "matutinae, prima, tertia, sexta, nona, vesperum et completorium," are now firmly established, and the lists of Gregory the Great (d. 604), M. *P. L.*, 78, p. 537, and of Chrodegang (d. 766), M. *P. L.*, 88, 1066 (cited by Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CLXXXV) are complete. Ælfric recognizes the antiquity of the Hours, *Pastoral Letter*, 30, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 456–457: "Four synods (in this case the four great Oecumenical Councils) appointed all the services which we have in God's ministry, at mass, at matins, and at all the Canonical Hours" ("To mæssan and to uhtsange and to eallum tidsangum").

With this short sketch of the Hours before us, we are better prepared to consider them in the Anglo-Saxon Church. I mention the main instances of their occurrence in church literature:

1. *Excerptions of Ecgbert*, XXVIII, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 328: "Prima est nocturnalis synaxis; secunda prima hora diei; tertia ipsa est hora quam tertiam vocamus; quarta vero sexta hora; quinta nona hora est; 'sexta autem synaxis vespera hora est;' septimam namque synaxim completorium vocitamus."

2. *Benedictine Rule*, Chap. XVI: "Matutino (Gloss, 'Æftersangum;' Translation, 'Dægredsangum'), Prima (Gloss and Trsl., 'Primsang'), Tertia (G. T., 'Undernsang'), Sexta (G. T., 'Middægsang'), Nona (G. T., 'Nonsang'), Vespera (G. T., 'Æfensang'), and Completorium (G. T., 'Nihtsang')."[1]

3. *Benedictine Service*, Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CXCIV, "Ærest on ærne morgen, and eft on undern-tid, and on midne dæg, and on non, and on æfen, and on foranniht, and on uhtantiman." Aerne morgen includes Dægredsang and Primsang.

[1] The Translation (Grein, *Bibl. der A. S. Prosa*, II) is to be dated about 970 (cf. Article by the writer, *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1893), but the earliest MS. is of the first portion of the 11th Century. The Gloss (E. E. T. Soc., 90) is of the same age as the Translation.

4. *Blickling Homilies* (c. 971), Morris, p. 47: "Ærest on ærne morgen, oþre siþe on undern, þridde siþe on midne dæg, feorþan siþe on non, fiftan siþe on æfen, sixtan siþe on niht ær he ræste, seofoþan siþe on uhtan."

5. *Concordia Regularis* (*Constitutions of Æthelwold*)—no collected account:—"Matutina" ("Æftersang," "Dægredsang"), "Prim," "Undern," "Middæg," "Non," "Vesperum" ("Æfen"), and "Completorium" (Logeman, l. 413, "on ytemystre tide riht gesetre").

6. *Canons* of Ælfric, 19, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 444: "Uhtsang and primsang, undernsang and middægsang, nonsang and æfensang and nihtsang seofoþan."

7. Ælfric's *Pastoral Letter*, 31, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 457: "Se forma tidsang is uhtsang mid þam æftersang þe þǽrto gebyraþ, primsang, undernsang, middægsang, nonsang, æfensang, nihtsang."

For general notices of the Canonical Hours in the Anglo-Saxon Laws, compare Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CLXXIX sq.

It is necessary to supplement the above list by a few citations, showing that the Hours are rather services than divisions of time:

Schröer, *Benedictine Rule*, 7, 28; 33, 1; XVIII, 43, 11; 44, 17; XXX, 55, 18: "on gedafenum tidum" ("horis competentibus"); XXXVII, 61, 16–17, "mid heora þygene forhradian þa regolican tida" ("horas canonicas"); XLIII, 67, 17, "to tidsange," *Winteney Vers.*, "to Godes þenunge," Latin, "Ad opus Dei."

Ælfric, *Homilies*, Thorpe, II, 160, 19: "Sum munuc wæs unstæððig on Godes lofsangum, and ne mihte his tidsangas gestandan mid his gebroðrum."

Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XXXV (30), p. 171, 14: "Æt ælcum tidsange; LVI (42), p. 290, 17, "and þu ahst to fyllene þine seofon tidsangas under (German, "unter") dæg and niht, þæt is, to ælcan tidsange seofon pr̃ nr̃ . . . . and þe ðe his dægsang cûnne, singe þone, swa he oftost mæge, and his credan ilome, etc."

Previous Treatment of the Canonical Hours.

I shall review, as briefly as possible, previous discussions of the Anglo-Saxon Hours.

Spelman, *Concilia*, (1639), 577, 19, gives Latin equivalents of the Saxon names of the hours; his translation of "Uhtsang" by "Cantus antelucanus" is interesting. The *Benedictine Service* was printed in an Appendix to Hickes' *Letters to a Popish Priest* (1705), and received numerous explanatory notes from the hands of William Elstob. His definitions of the Hours are suggestive, but not always correct:

(1). On ærne morgen—Early in the morning at break of day or the first hour (Prime); (2). Underntid—3rd Hour—Verstegan's "afternoon" translation (*Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, p. 234) is disproved; (3). Middæg—Midday; (4). Non—Hora nona (3 p. m.); (5). Æfen—Even (12th hour), so-called because it even'd the civil day; (6). Foranniht—probably 9 p. m.; (7). Uhtan—Midnight (so-called because the twenty-four hours were run out).

Elizabeth Elstob, *Homily on the Birthday of St. Gregory* (1709), p. 40, quotes from the *Psalter of St. Augustine* (see M. *P. L.*, XXXVII) the hymns for the different Hours. The Editor of Sir John Fortescue's work, *The Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy* (1714), p. 143, note, places Uhtsang at 3 a. m., Æfensang at 9 p. m., and Nihtsang at Midnight. Johnson's *Canons of the English Church* appeared in 1720; the following is his Cursus: Uhtsang—Mattins or Nocturns; Prime Song—7 o'clock; Undernsong—9 o'clock; Middaysong—12 o'clock; Noonsong—3 o'clock; Evensong—6 o'clock; Compline—9 o'clock. Baron's Notes to his Edition of Johnson (1850) will be considered presently.

Waterland, in his MS. Notes to Somner's *Dictionary*, availed himself of Johnson, but his lists of the Hours were drawn from the "Blickling MS.," Ælfric's *Canons*, Wycliffe, Hugues, *De Ecclesiae Mysteriis* (12th Cent., M. *P. L.*, CLXXVII), *Psalter*

of Gregory the Great (cf. Wanley, *Catalogue*, p. 172), etc. Peck's division of the Roman day and night (*Desiderata Curiosa*, 1779, Vol. I, 224) is at once so interesting and so minute, that—although it is not in every case applicable to Anglo-Saxon times—I shall follow it in detail:

"Prima Vigilia—1st Hour = Solis Occasus; 2nd Hour = Crepusculum Vespertinum or Evening twilight; 3rd Hour = Ὀψέ; Service = Evensong.

"Secunda Vigilia—1st Part = Prima fax = Candle light; 2nd Part = Prima Nox; 3rd Part = Concubium or Bed-time; 4th Part = Somnus Tempestivus; 5th Part = Ad Mediam Noctem; Service—Officium Completorium.

"Tertia Vigilia—1st Part = Media Nox; 2nd Part = De Media Nocte; 3rd Part = Gallicinium = 2 a. m.; 4th Part = Conticinium (Cock now silent); Service—Officium Matutinum Vesperum.

"Quarta Vigilia—1st Part = Πρώς, Diluculum or Dawn; 2nd Part = Crepusculum Matutinum; 3rd Part = Ἠώς or Aurora—Morning light; 4th Part = Exortus Solis (6 a. m.); Service—Officium Horae Matutinae or Matins.

"Hours of the Day—Mane Plenum (6–9)—Service = Primesong; Tempus Antemeridianum = Forenoon (Undernoon is discussed; see *infra*); Service = Terce; Meridies (12–3)—1st Part = Medius Dies; 2nd Part = De Meridie; Service = Officium Horae Sextae; Tempus Postmeridianum = Overnoon; Service = Officium Horae Nonae."

Hampson, *M. A. Kalendarium*, Glossary, s. v. "Hours," has given many useful references to the Canonical Services. Fosbroke's division of the *Concordia* services (*British Monachism*, p. 28 sq.) is as follows: (1). Unthsang (sic) embraces Mattins and Lauds—Midnight to Primsang (6 a. m., Prime). (2). Duties from Primsang to Undersang (Tierce, about 9 a. m.). (3). Undersang to Middægsang (Sext, about 12). (4). From Middægsang to Nonsang (Nones, about 2 or 3 p. m.). (5). From Nonsang to Æfensang (Vespers, Lucernarium, about 4 p. m.). (6). From Æfensang to Nihtsang (Complin,

2nd Vespers, 7 p. m.). Baron, in his excellent note to the 19th Canon of Ælfric (1850 Edition of Johnson's *Collection of Laws and Canons*, I, p. 393), defines the Equinoctial Hours thus: Uhtsang (Midnight); Lofsang = Æftersang or Dægredlice Lofsangas (2–3 a. m.); Primsang (6–7 a. m.); Undernsang = Tertia (8–9 a. m.); Middægsang = Sexta (11–12 a. m.); Nonsang (2–3 p. m.); Æfensang (6–7 p. m.); Completorium (8–9 p. m).

With Baron's divisions, my own,[1] in the main, correspond: Uhtsang, Lofsang and Æftersang, 2–6 a. m.; Prime, 6 a. m.; Undern, 8–9 a. m.; Middæg, 11–12 a. m.; Non, 2–3 p. m.; Æfen, 4–5 p. m.; Completorium, 6 p. m.

My Horology table shows, however, that Undern and None, being equally distant from 12 o'clock, were counted usually at 9 a. m. and 3 p. m. As Æfen is the 11th Hour, I have placed it from 4–5 p. m., and Completorium, the 12th hour at 6 p. m., but the services of these periods were doubtless later, probably at the time indicated by Baron. Durand, *Rationale*, v, 2, p. 138, tells us that "under Prime two hours were reckoned, the first and second (6–8 a. m.); under Terce, three (8–11 a. m.); under Sext or Midday, three, the sixth, seventh and eighth (11 a. m.–2 p. m.); under None, two (2 p. m.–4 p. m.); Vespers occupy the 11th (4–5 p. m.), and Completorium, the 12th (5–6 p. m.). But Durand is defining the so-called Canonical Spaces,—to be distinguished from the several hours. Compare Canonical Hours, Horstman's *Lives of the Saints*, E. E. T. Soc., 87, xxxvi, p. 225, l. 217 sq.; "York Hours of the Cross," E. E. T. S., 71 (1879), p. 82; *Lay Folks Prayer Book*, E. E. T. S., 105 (1895); *Minor Poems of Vernon MS.*, E. E. T. S., 94 (1892), p. 37.

At this point some reference to Canonical Hours on the Continent is necessary. The "Gebet and Tischreden" in Wackernagel's *Altdeutsche Predigten und Gebete*, 1876, are from Basel MS., B. xi, 23, of 14th Century (p. 561 sq.):

[1] Let it be remembered that these are Equinoctial divisions and will vary with the seasons (cf. Horology, *supra*).

Rubrics, p. 561, "Zû metten zeit als unser herre gevangen wart;" p. 562, l. 50, "Zu prime zit alz unser herre von gerihtes stunte;" p. 563, l. 90, "Zu tercie zit als unser herre mit rûten und mit geuscheln geschlagen wart;" p. 565, l. 140, "Zû sexte zit als unser herre sin cruze zu der marter trûg;" p. 566, l. 205, "Zu none zit alz unser herre stunt an dem cruze;" p. 566, l. 244, "Zu nonzit starb Jesus an dem crutz;" p. 568, l. 273, "Zu vesperzit als unser herre aber dem cruzte genomen wart;" p. 570, l. 364, "Zu completenzit als unser herre in dz grap geleit wart." The *Oxforder Benediktinerregel*, Sievers, Halle, 1887 (Abdruck aus dem *Tübinger Decanals programn*),[1] contains numerous examples of the German names of the Hours.

The French "Heures Canoniales" will be cited from time to time in connection with the several Hours.

Number and Symbolism of the Canonical Hours.

In the *Roman Breviary*, published by Pius V (1566), and revised by Clement VIII (1592) and Urban VIII (1623) (Marquis of Bute, 1879), the division of the ecclesiastical day is as follows (p. 235 sq.): Mattins (subdivided into 1st, 2nd and 3rd Nocturns), Lauds, Prime, Tierce, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline. It will be noticed that this gives eight divisions instead of seven, and that Mattins and Lauds are two distinct tides. Upon the relation of Mattins (Uhtsang) and Lauds (Dægredsang) will rest much of the discussion to follow.

That the Canonical Hours should be seven in number seemed to early churchmen attested by the scriptures (Hickes, *Letters to a Popish Priest*, Appendix): David had said (*Psalms*, 119, 164): "Seven times a day do I praise Thee because of Thy righteous judgments." The gifts of the Holy Ghost were seven in number (Luke, XI, 26; Matt., XII, 45).

[1] This version, Cod, Laud Misc., 237, Bodleian, is, like the "Winteney," a feminine one, traced by Sievers, p. IX, to the Eberbach circle of Nunneries, and bears the stamp of the 14th Century speech of South and Middle Nassau.

A just man falleth seven times a day and riseth again (Proverbs, XXIV, 16). There were seven deadly sins (Proverbs, XXVI, 25), seven trumpets of Jericho (Joshua, VI), seven stars, seven churches, and seven golden candlesticks (Revelations, I). Each of these all-convincing arguments from example would be cited by ritualist or homilist.

The reason for eight hours is given by Durand, *Rationale*, V, 1, p. 137: "Esdras divided day into 1st, 3rd, 6th and 9th Hours, night into vespers, completorium, nocturns and diluculum (laudes matutinae)." The prompt observance of the Lauds at dawn, demanded by the *Benedictine Rule* (XVI), was in Durand's day complied with only by those who were blinded by a halo of apocryphal glory (compare Durand, V, 4, 1, p. 152).

Let us now consider the changes in the "septenarius sacratus numerus" occasioned by an imperfect conception of the relation between the midnight confessional and the morning Lauds. Gregory of Tours (540–594), *Historia Francorum*, VIII, par. 387, M. *P. L.*, 71, p. 459: "Expergefactus vero circa medium noctis cum ad cursum reddendum surgerem." "Ad cursum reddendum" cannot be taken strictly as placing Midnight among the Canonical Hours, for Gregory, a reliable authority on account of his work, *De Cursibus Ecclesiastis*, gives in his *Vitae Patrum*, par 1187, M. *P. L.*, 71, p. 1043, an assured place to Matins. Chrodegang, M. *P. L.*, 88, 1066, couples Matins with Diluculum and makes no mention of the Midnight Vigil.

The *Benedictine Rule* (VIII, XI, XVI) does not include Uhtsang or Vigils among the Canonical Hours, and therefore does not appear to observe with it the same strictness as with the others. It could be shortened to insure a prompt beginning of the Matins at day-break; and, in order that the monks might not be deprived of their meed of sleep, they were not compelled to rise promptly at Midnight ("ut modice amplius de media nocte pausentur"). Æftersang or Dægredsang (Matutini) is, however, always a distinct Canonical Hour in

the Rule; a collection of examples from both the Translation (Schröer, *Bibliothek der A. S. Prosa*, II) and the Gloss (Logeman, E. E. T. Soc., 90) will show plainly the relation it bore to Uhtsang:

(Translation).

Uhta—IX, p. 33, l. 7, uhtsang ("Winteney," 43, 19, utsang); VIII, 32, 47, æfter þam uhtsange (post vigilias); VIII, 32, 20, se ærest þæs uhtsanges ("Winteney," 43, 12, þæs uhtsanges time) = hora vigiliarum; VIII, 32, 21, betwyh þæm uhtsange and þæm dægredsange—no lemma; IX, 33, 17, æt þæm uhtsange ("Winteney," 45, 3, æfter þan uhtsangan) = in vigiliis; IX, 34, 3, se nihtlica uhtsang = vigilie nocturne; X, 34, 5 (Rubric), Hu on Sumere seo nihtlice tid to healdenne sy ("Winteney," 45, 13, hu me sceall singe uhtsang on Sumerliche time) = Nocturna laus, etc., etc.

Dægred—VIII, p. 32, l. 21, and þæm dægredsange—no lemma; VIII, 33, 1, dægredsange = matutini; XI, 35, 23, dægeredsang = matutinos; XI, 36, 10, dægredsanges = matutinorum solemnitas; XIII, 37, 5, dægredsanges weorðung = matutinorum solempnitas, etc., etc.

(Gloss).

Uhta—VIII, p. 37, l. 8, æfter uhtsange = post vigilias; VIII, 37, 12, tid uhtsanga = hora vigiliarum; IX, 38, 15, æt uhtsangum = in vigiliis; IX, 39, 8, nihtlice uhtsangas = vigilie nocturne; X, 40, 3, to nihtlicum uhtsangum = ad vigilias nocturnas. Compare XI, 40, 8; XV, 45, 14; XVI, 46, 9; XVII, 47, 1; XVIII, 49, 7; XVIII, 51, 7.

Æftersang—VIII, 37, 14, merigenlice lofsang = matutini; XI, 41, 15, mergenlice lof = matutinos; XII, 42, 9, on mergenlicum lofsangum = in matutinis; XIII, 43, 1, æftersanga = matutinorum; XVII, 47, 1, meriendlice lofsangas æftersanges = matutinis. Compare XIII, 44, 6; XV, 46, 5; XXXV, 66, 13.

With the above must be compared the glossed text of the *Concordia Regularis* (*Anglia*, XIII), whose author Æthelwold

was the translator of the *Benedictine Rule* (*Modern Language Notes*, June, 1893):

Concordia, l. 220, 449, 523, 933, Uhtsang = nocturna; 1014, uhtsanglic = nocturnus; l. 449, 450, 528, 663, 904, 944, 974, æftersang = matutina; 476, æftersingallice = matutinales; 243, to uhtlicum lofsangum = ad matutinales laudes; 388, 689, 870, dægredsang = matutinus; 507, dægredlice lofu.

In the other Anglo-Saxon lists of Canonical Hours, we have quite a different arrangement. In the *Benedictine Service* (Bouterwek's *Cædmon*, I, CLXXI) and the *Blickling Homilies*, Uhtsang is one of the Hours (cf. the "nocturnalis synaxis" of Ecgbert), but Dægredsang or Æftersang has become a part of the Ær-morgen service. In the *Canons* and *Pastoral Letter* of Ælfric, Dægredsang is united with Uhtsang as the "Æftersang þe þärto gebyraþ." In the last case, which is by far the more natural change (compare Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, VIII, Miller's Ed., p. 284, l. 9), Uhtsang assumes the meaning of Matins. In either case Uhtsang has risen to the dignity of a Canonical Hour, a position that it never held in the *Benedictine Rule*.

The order of services in the *Concordia* is as follows: "Three orations, followed by Nocturns, to which were added its Lauds; then the Matutinales Laudes were sung in the time between dawn and sunrise (in lucis crepusculo), Prime beginning with the light of day." Nothing, however, is said of an "early morning service," including Dægred and Prime (Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 29). The *Concordia* is closely followed by the monks mentioned in the glossed *Colloquy* of Ælfric (Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, I, 101): "Manega þingc ic dyde. on þisse niht þa þa cnylle ic gehyrde ic aras on minon bedde and eode to cyrcean and sang uhtsang (nocturnam) mid gebroþrum æfter þa we sungon be eallum halgum and dægredlice lofsangas (matutinales laudes) æfter þysum prim, etc."

The order of services in all cases remained the same; the difference between them was only one of name.

To sum up, I have shown that Uhtsang or Nocturns, formerly only Vigils, became a separate Canonical Hour in the Anglo-Saxon Church, and that, although Uhta might include Nocturns and Dægredsang, or Ær-morgen include Dægredsang and Prime, the strict number of Hours never exceeded seven.

The Hours of the Canons were fraught with symbolism to the mediæval monk. Not only was a special significance given to each period by some circumstance in the Saviour's passion, but the stages of the world and the periods of human life were represented by the Hours.

Ælfric, *Homilies*, II, 74, translating from Gregory's 19th Homily, M. *P. L.*, 76, 1154 (Förster, "Ueber die Quellen von Ælfrics Exegetischen Homiliae Catholicae," § 43, *Anglia*, XVI, 3), tells us, in connection with the Parable of the Vineyard: "Eornostlice se ær-merigen wæs fram Adam oð Noe, se undern fram Noe oð Abraham, se middæg fram Abraham oð Moysen, se non fram Moyse oð Drihtnes to-cyme, seo endlyfte tid fram Drihtnes acennednysse oð ende þises middaneardes." Compare Durand, *Rationale*, v, 1, p. 137.

Ælfric continues (II, 76): "We magon eac ðas ylcan mislicnyssa ðæra foresædra tida to anum gehwylcum menn þurh his ylda tidum todaelan. Witodlice ures andgites merigen is ure cildhad, ure cnihthad swylce undern-tid, on þam astihð ure geogoð, swa swa seo sunne deð ymbe ðære ðriddan tide; ure fulfremeda wæstm swa swa middæg, forðan ðe on midne dæg bið seo sunne on ðam ufemestum ryne stigende swa swa se fulfremeda wæstm bið on fulre strencðe þeonde. Seo non-tid bið ure yld forðan ðe on nontid asihð seo sunne, and ðæs ealdigendan mannes mægen bið wanigende. Seo endlyfte tid bið seo forwerode ealdnyss þam deaðe genealæcende, swa swa seo sunne setlunge genealæhð on þæs dæges geendunge."

This interpretation of the Parable is repeated in *Kentish Sermons* (Laud MS. 471), "Dominica in Sexagesima," *O. E. Miscellany* (E. E. T. S., 50, p. 34). Durand, *Rationale*, v, 1,

137, institutes the same comparison: (1). Infantia = Matutinae Laudes. (2). Pueritia = Prima. (3). Adolescentia = Tertia. (4). Juventus = Sexta. (5). Senectus = Nona. (6). Senium = Vesperae. (7). Decrepita Aetas = Completorium.

Each Canonical division will now be considered in turn, and the introductory discussion supplemented by matter more appropriate to the consideration of the several hours than to a general view of the whole.

Uhta.

The etymology of the word Uhta, given by Elstob (Appendix to Hickes' *Letters to a Popish Priest*), is ingenious enough to deserve notice: "Gothic uhtwo and Runic otta (Norse) convince us that Uhta derived its name from the fact that the four and twenty hours were run out and the civil day was compleat." Elstob suggests also a connection with "uhtelun (sic), timebant, Mark, XI, 32, uht-tid being the dread time of night and full of horror." Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Stalleybras, II, 747, regards the root as unexplained. Later scholars seem well-agreed over its history: Uhta, dawn; Old Norse, ôtta; O. H. G., uhta; Gothic, ūhtwo; uhteigs < Germanic type, unχtwon < Idg. base, n̥qtun > Sanskrit, aktu (brilliance); Greek, *ἀκτίς* (beam) (Fick, *Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprache*, 1876, VII, 9, v, 297; Kluge, *Nominale Stammbildung*, p. 140).[1]

Grimm (loc. cit.) gives the time of Uhta: "The very first glimmer of dawn, or strictly speaking, that which precedes it, the latter end of night, is expressed by the Gothic uhtwo (Greek, *ἔννυχον*), Mark, I, 35." The Vulgate reads here "mane noctu valde," and the Anglo-Saxon versions, "swiþe ær." Spelman's translation of Uhtsang, "Antelucanus" (*Concilia*, 577) is correct, and true of all Saxon observance.

[1] George Hempl, *Modern Language Notes*, November, 1891, derived N. H. G. nüchtern from ne-uoht-nar-in, the third element appearing in N. H. G. nahren. The use mentioned by Fick (loc. cit.) in M. H. G. supports this view (cf. Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 1876, s. v. "Uht-weide").

Ælfric's *Vocabulary*, Wright-Wülker, 129, 32, gives—like Ælfric's *Canons* and *Pastoral Letter*—Matutinum as the Latin equivalent of Uhtgebed (cf. Wright-Wülker, 175, 40).

It is difficult to define closely the position of Uhta. In ecclesiastical usage, it varied at different seasons of the year (*Benedictine Rule*, Chap. VIII); but it meant doubtless, to churchman and layman, the darkest portion of the night, the hour before the dawn (Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 450, 3, Matutinum = Uht-tid sive beforan dæge; Beowulf, 126, Andreas, 235, 1390, Elene, 105, on uhtan mid ærdæge; Satan, 404–406, 465, on uhtan ær dægrede), the time associated in Anglo-Saxon poetry with "eald uhtsceaþa" (Beowulf, 2271) and "ealdes uhtflogan" (Beowulf, 2760).

One meaning that Uhta could never assume has been ascribed to it by Thorpe and Bouterwek. In Ælfric's "Homily on the Assumption of St. John, the Apostle," Thorpe, I, 74, we are told that the Apostle "on Sunnan-uhtan ærwacol (Thorpe, 'at sunrise, early rising') to þære cyrcan com and þam folce from hancred oð undern Godes gerihta lærde and him mæssan gesang." Ælfric uses the expression, "sunnan-uhtan" again in his *Pastoral Letter*, 44: "And ge sculon singan sunnan-uhtan and mæsse-uhtan, etc." Wilkins, *Leges Anglo-Saxonicae* (1721), p. 161, renders this, "ad solis ortum et missae initium." Thorpe, *A. L.*, 461, translates: "And ye should sing sunrise matins and mass matins." Bouterwek's rendering (*Cædmon*, CLXXXII) is similar: "Und ihr sollt singen die Metten bei Sonnenaufgang und die Frühmesse."

There are many reasons why Sunnan-uhtan should not be rendered "sunrise." (1). Uhtsang must end at dawn, and the period, Uhta, always precedes the light. (2). The context in the Homily passage shows that Sunnan-uhtan can mean only Sunday morning before day (notice that the period precedes Hancred). Sweet, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, 14a/299, Gloss, 283, and Bright, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 213, Note to p. 84, 10–11, give the proper meaning. (3). John's action was so common

among holy men that there can be little doubt of the time of these devotions. Bede tells us, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, X, Miller, p. 188, 7: "Sægdon þætte þa men þa hit cuðon þæt he oftost fram þære tide þæs uhtlican lofsonges oð hluttorne dæg in gebedum astode awunade." Id., IV, XXI, 318, 22: "Symle gif hire hefigre untrymnesse ne bewere of þære tide uhtsanges oð hluttorne dæg in cirican in halgum gebedum stod." Compare Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, Skeat, XV, 95, Bright's *Reader*, 101, 13. (4) The use of "sunnandagum and mæssedagum" (*Blickling Homilies*, 47) makes clear the meaning of "Sunnan-uhtan and Maesse-uhtan;" and a passage from Wulfstan's *Homilies* (Napier, LVIII, p. 305, l. 21) is conclusive: "Nagan læwede men þurh hæmed þinge gif hi Godes miltse habban willaþ wifes gemanan sunnan-nihtum ne maesse-nihtum ne wodnes-nihtum ne frige-nihtum." *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, D. 1021, "Cristes maesse-uhtan" can mean only, "on Christmas before day." Thus the expressions "Sunnan-uhtan and Maesse-uhtan" are to be translated, "at Uhta on Sunday and Mass-days."[1]

A very peculiar use of the word is found in the *Leechdoms*, II, 346: "On gang þe aweg, gang eft to þonne dæg and niht furþum scade, on þam ilcan uhte gang ærest to ciricean." It should be noted that this striking expression, "þonne dæg and niht scade" (cf. *Leechdoms*, II, 116, 18; II, 356, 6), has a classical origin; compare *Durham Ritual*, p. 36, 9: "Deus qui diem discernis a nocte" (Gloss: "God ðv—gesceadas fram næhte"); Ibid., p. 182: "Qui separasti lucem a tenebris" (Gloss: "ðv ð. gesceadest liht fram ðiostrum").

"Ær uhton" (*Leechdoms*, III, 20), rendered wrongly by Cockayne, "before sunrise," is equivalent to the Gothic "air uhtwon" (Mark, I, 35), and has the same meaning as "foran to uhtes" (Cockayne, *Narratiunculae*, p. 15).

A few other instances of the word's occurrence may be cited: On the 24th Moon "on uhtan ȝod mona blod lætan" (*Leech-*

[1] The times of mass are given in MS. Caligula, A. 15, fol. 140b, A. Napier, "Altenglische Kleinigkeiten," *Anglia*, XI, 7.

doms, III, 196, 4); "On uhtatide" (Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Capit. 4, XIV, Miller, 18, 33), and "In uhttide se steorra ætywde se is cometa nemned" (Ibid., IV, XVI, Miller, 300, 1); *Martyr Book*, May 9 (*Shrine*, 83), þonne gangaþ þa seofon steorras on uhtan upp and on æfen on setle.

Uhta in Middle English.

Uhta did not live long in the language, and, unlike many of the other Canonical Hours, it preserved to the last its original meaning. A few of the Bradley-Stratmann examples will show this: Orm is describing the vision of Joseph the Carpenter (l. 2483):

"And Godes engell comm him to
Onn uhtenn þær he sleppte."

And again (Ibid., 5381):

"His Crist ras upp off deeþe.
Onn uhtenntid to þridde dæg."

In *Ancren Riwle*, Morton, p. 20, Uhtsang[1] has the meaning of Nocturns.

Hancred.

In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, VIII, 34, Cockcrowing is mentioned as one of the regular Hours of Prayer: "At Cockcrowing, because that hour brings the good news of the coming on of the day for the operations proper to light." In Anglo-Saxon days, it was still a time of devotion: Byrhtferð, *Handboc*, 124, *Anglia*, VIII, 319: "Gallicinium þæt ys Hancred þon sceolon gode munecas arisan and gode singan;" *Life of St. Guthlac*, by Felix of Croyland, Chap. VI, Goodwin, p. 42: "Ða gelamp hit sumre nihte þa hit wæs hancred and

[1] It is possible that Oughtred (pr. Ŏt'-red), the name of an English divine, 1574–1660 (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, s. v.), may be derived from Uht-red (cf. Dæg-red); but the non-occurrence in literary English of the demanded form, and the changed meaning of Uhta make one hesitate.

se eadiga wer, Guðlac, his uhtgebedum befeal, þa wæs he sæmninga mid leohte slæpe swefed;" *Reden der Seelen*, l. 66, Grein, I, p. 201:

"Sceal ic þe nihtes swa þeah nede gesecan
Synnum gesargod and eft sona fram þe
Hweorfan on hancred þonne halige men
Lifiendum gode lofsang doð."

The common meaning of Hancred is shown clearly in the Ælfredian version of the *Cura Pastoralis*, Chap. LXXIII, Sweet, p. 458: "Ðæs cocces ðeaw is ðæt he micle hludor singð on uhtan ðonne on dægred. Ac ðonne hit nealæcð dæge ðonne singð he smalor and smicror." Compare with this Gregory's Latin, XXXIX, M. *P. L.*, 77, 124.

Hancred usually indicates Gallicinium. "On Hancrede" translates the Vulgate "Galli Cantu" (Mark, XIII, 35);[1] and the word appears, *Leechdoms*, III, 266, in a connection that leaves but little doubt of its meaning: "Gif he (mona) þonne æfter sunnan setlunge ontend byð, oþþe on middere niht, oþþe on hancrede, ne byð he næfre niwe geteald." Compare Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, XXIV, Miller, 338, 24, ymb honcred; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, D., Anno 795, betwux hancraede and dagunge; Ælfric's *Homilies*, II, 334, 30, betwux hancrede; II, 334, 35, ealle ða niht oð hancred. The passage, *Leechdoms*, III, 6, presents a difficulty:

"And þonne oniht þonne sumor on tun gæð on mergen þonne sceal se man wacyan ealle þa niht þe þone drenc drincan wille and þonne coccas crawan forman syðe þonne drince he æne, oþre siðe þonne dæg and niht scade, þriddan siðe þonne sunne upga and reste hine syþþan."

Cockayne takes "forman syþe" with "crawan;" but the meaning of "first cockcrow" (*infra*) and coördination in the above passage show that the adverbial phrase qualifies "drince."

Hancred, however, was not only in the morning before day. In the "Glosses" of Mone's *Quellen und Forschungen*,

[1] Here the Lindisfarne MS. reads: "On uhte tide and on honcroed."

B. 4677, Galli-Cantu is glossed by "cwyld-setene," which is elsewhere the gloss of Conticinium (*infra*, s. v.); and in the *Vocabulary* of Ælfric, Wright-Wülker, 175, 36, Hancred translates Gallicinium vel Conticinium, the last named being defined as the third division of the night (Beda,[2] and Byrhtferð; see *supra*). Now it is possible to regard Conticinium as occupying also a place in the early morning—the case, sometimes, in antiquity (Lalamantius, "De Tempore," *Thes. Graec. Ant.*, 1049); but it is more natural to suppose that it retained its early-night position ("cwyld-setene" could never have referred to a morning hour), and was the first of the three cock-crows mentioned, *Leechdoms*, II, 294, 5.[1] Conticinium is doubtless the hour referred to in the Historical Fragment, MS. Cott. Caligula A., XIV, *Leechdoms*, III, 424, where a miracle "embe forman hancred" is described. Symeon of Durham, who tells the same story (Arnold, *Rolls Series*, II, 8), puts the time at "intempesta noctis quiete," the dead of night.

Later cock-crows are helpful here. Chaucer tells us the time of the third cock-crow (Reeve's Tale, A. 4233):

> "Till that the thridde cok began to singe
> Aleyn wax wery in the dawenynge."

Shakspere mentions a first cock-crow (Mid. N's Dream, II, 1, 267; 1 Henry IV, II, 1, 20; Lear, III, IV, 121), probably at Midnight, a second cock-crow at 3 o'clock (Romeo and Juliet, IV, 4, 3; Macbeth, II, 3, 22—Note in *Variorum* Ed.), and a morning cock-crow (Hamlet, I, 2, 218). Shakspere's cocks had been drilled in Tusser's barnyard—*Five Hundred Pointes*

[1] In Matt., XIV, 25, where "embe þone feorþan hancred" renders "Quarta vigilia," the cock is supposed by the translator to crow at every watch; cf. *O. E. Homilies*, 2nd Ser., VI, Morris, *E. E. T. Soc.*, 53, 39: "On þis niht beð feower niht wecches. Biforen even þe belimpeð to children. Midniht . . . to frumberdlegges, hanecrau . . . þowuene men, morgewile to alde men."

Compare Theocritus, Idyl., XXIV, Lang's Translation, 1892, p. 128, "The cocks were now but singing their third welcome to the earliest dawn."

of Good Husbandrie, 74, *Eng. Dialect Society*, 21 (1878), p. 165 (cf. Hazlitt's Ed. of Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, II, 34).

> "At midnight, at three, and an hour near day
> They utter their language as well as they may."

Compare Hazlitt, l. c., for other examples.[1]

The Anglo-Saxon Hancred may be properly regarded as the last portion of Uhta, and be placed roughly at about an hour before Dægred or Dawn.

On Ærne Morgen.

I. *Dægred.*

II. *Prime.*

Ær-morgen may be regarded as extending from Dawn to Undern (Mid-morning). I have, therefore, included under it the two Canonical divisions of Dægred and Prime. A number of examples of the rather generic term, Ær-morgen, are given:

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A°. 538, A., fram ær-mergenne oð undern (B. morgenne, C. E. morgene, F. æran morgen); A°. 678, E. ælce morgen = F. 677, on ærne morgen.

Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, I, XVIII (34), Miller, 92, 3, on ærmergen he iteð hloðe and on æfenne hereof dælað; II, XI (14), 140, 12, from ærmorgenne oð æfen (Giles, 236, 10, a mane usque ad vesperam); V, VI (6), 402, 11, sona in ærmorgen (Giles, 176, 26, mane); V, IX (9), 410, 6, on ærmorgen (Giles, 188, 14, mane). Notice the translator's preference for the compound form found in the Psalter and in "Ælfred's Metres" (Bosworth-Toller, s. v.).

[1] "De fust rooster-crow" of the Southern Negro (T. Nelson Page, *In Ole Virginia*, p. 84) falls, I am informed by a colored authority on the fowl-house, "at midnight," "de secon'" at "fo' day," "de third" at "come day."

The three Spanish cock-crows fall at midnight, day-break and sunset (H. Lang, "The Fowl in Spanish Proverb and Metaphor," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, May, 1887).

Anglo-Saxon Gospels, Matt., XX, 1, on ærne merigen (cum diluculo); Mark, XVI, 9, on ærne morgen (mane); John, XXI, 4, on ærne mergen (mane autem jam facto).

Old Testament, (Grein's *Bibliothek der A.-S. Prosa*, I), Gen., XIX, 15, 27, Deut., XXVIII, 67, on ærne mergen (mane); Gen., XXI, 14, on ærne morgen sôna (mane); Ex., XII, 22, ær on morgen (usque mane); Numbers, XVII, 7, on ærne mergen (sequenti die); Joshua, VIII, 10, on ærne mergen (diluculo); Job, I (1⁵), on ærne marigen (diluculo).

Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 286, 32, Swa hraðe swa heo (seo sunne) upasprencð on ærne-merigen heo scinð on Hierusalem; II, 72, 17; 74, 7; 126, 12; 138, 18; 348, 19; 446, 16, on ærne-merigen; II, 74, 17, se ær-merigen. Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints* (Skeat), III, 341, fram ærne marien; VI, 70; X, 123; XI, 52; XI, 235; XXIII, 472, on ærne mergen; XII, 344, on ærne mærgen; XV, 80, on ærne merigen; Ælfric's *Homily on the Book of Judith*, Assmann, Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, 113, 351, on ærne mergen.

Wulfstan's *Homilies*, VI (13, 14), Napier, 46, 14, ær on morgen (mane).

Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, I, 180; III, 92, 8, on ærne mergen; I, 224, Chap. CXI, on ærne mergen þonne seo sunne ærest upgange.

Grein's *Sprachschatz* contains many examples of ær-morgen and ær-dæge (s. v.).

I shall now cite a number of the more general expressions for morning:

Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, II, VI, Miller, 114, 28, sona on marne; III, I, 154, 34, sona on morne; III, VIII, 182, 28, þa hit þa wæs on marne dæg geworden; IV, III (3), 272, 2, on morne (Giles, III, 24, 20, mane); IV, VIII (7), 284, 25; IV, XXV (24), 344, 17, on morgenne (mane).

Anglo-Saxon Gospels, Mark, I, 35, ær (mane); Mark, XIII, 35, on mergen (mane); Mark, XVI, 2, swyðe ær (valde mane); Luke, IV, 42, ða gewordenum dæge (facta autem die); John, XX, 1, on mergen ær hit leoht wære (mane tenebris adhuc existentibus).

Old Testament, Gen., I, often, morgen; Gen., XXVIII, 18, on mergen þa he ârâs (surgens mane); Gen., XLI, 8, on morgen (facto mane); XLIV, 3, on morgen (orto mane); Ex., X, 13, on morgen (mane facto); Ex. XVI, 13, 21; XXXII, 6, on morgen (mane); Ex. XVI, 20, oð hit morgen wæs (usque mane); Ex., XXIII, 18, oð morgen (usque mane); Num., XVI, 8, on mergen. (The "cras" meaning is frequent in this work; compare *supra*.)

Blickling Homilies, 69, 28; 231, 36, on morgen; 235, 18, þa se morgen geworden wæs; 201, 35; 203, 2; 207, 8, on morgenne; 207, 3, to morgne (to-morrow); 213, 22, morgendæg (morrow); 139, 18; 143, 2, morgenlican.

Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 504, 19, 23; II, 172, 3, 188, 17, on merigen; I, 572, 30, on merien; II, 138, 17, on merigenlicere tide; II, 172, 17, on þære nihte þe se andaga on merigen wæs; II, 182, 33, oð merigen.

Wulfstan's *Homilies*, XXIX (25), Napier, 137, 11, and seo sunne forswyreð sona on morgen and se mona næfð·nane lihtincge.

Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 6, 5; III, 8, 3, etc., on mergen; III, 44, often, on morgenne.

I. *Dægred.*

It will be remembered that Bede[2] and Byrhtferð, in their lists of the nightly hours, regarded Dægred as the sixth division, and that Byrhtferð connected with it the songs of praise of the monks. The Blickling homilist mentions the service at this hour (207, 35): "Ac on dægred, siþþan hit frumlyhte hie þyder inwæron to ðam lofsangum gesamnode." The significance of the service itself has been discussed (*supra*).

In Anglo-Saxon times, as now, Dægred was the time that husbandmen went to the fields (*Colloquy* of Ælfric, 90, 13) (Arator): "Eala leof þearle ic deorfe; ic ga ut on dægred (diluculo), þywende oxon to felda and jugie hig to syl" (Gloss).

A few examples of the use of the word may be cited:

Anglo-Saxon Gospels, Luke, XXIV, 1, swyðe ær on dægred = diluculo profundo (ὄρθρου βάθεος); John, VIII, 2, on dægred (diluculo).

Old Testament, Ex., VIII, 20, on dægred (diluculo); Ex., XIV, 23, on dægred (vigilia matutina); Ex., XXIX, 41, æfter þære dægred-offrung (juxta ritum matutinae oblationis).

Blickling Glosses, 64, 9 (B. H., p. 262) [ut-]gang dægeredes: Exitus matutini.

Ælfric employs Dægred in a simile (*Lives of the Saints*, V, 108):

> "Swa swa dægred todræfð þa dimlican þystra
> And manna eagan onlyht þe blinde wæron on niht."[1]

Other examples of Dægred will be found in the poets (cf. Grein's *Sprachschatz*).

Dægred has many equivalents. Aurora is translated (Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 175, 52) by Dæg-rima; and this expression, common in poetry (cf. Grein), is found more than once in the prose: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1122, þæt fir hi seagon in þe dæi rime and læste swa lange þe hit wæs liht ofer eall; Schröer, *Ben. Rule*, VIII, 33, 1, upaspringenum dægriman ("Winteney," 43, 15, þonne þæs dæges lyht aȝynd) = incipiente luce; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 442, 33, arisende dægrima. Another word with the sense of Dægred appears in the Shepherd's speech in the *Colloquy* of Ælfric (Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 91, 12), on forewerdne morgen (in primo mane) ic drife sceap mine to heora læse. Cf. "Lihting" (*Wulfstan Homilies, supra* sub "Length of Sunday").

Many Anglo-Saxon phrases convey the idea of dawn: Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 1 (2), Miller, 154, 34, sona on morne swa hit dagian ongan (Giles, 264, 11, incipiente diluculo); III, VI (8), 174, 11, þa wæs in þære seolfan nihte

[1] Reum, *Anglia*, X, 482, says of such passages as this: "Weit oft sieht er (Ælfric) sich in den Hom. und den Hlg. Lb. natürlich beeinflusst durch die Sprache der Bibel und der Kirchenväter veranlasst Bilder und Beispiele einzuflechten."

þæm ytemæstan dæle þæt is þa hit dagian ongon (Giles, 174, 32, ipsa autem nocte in cujus ultima parte id est incipiente aurora); III, IX (11), 182, 28, þa hit þa wæs on marne dæg geworden (Giles, 298, 24, mane facto); IV, X (8), 286, 24, þonne dagunge tid cwome (Giles, III, 42, 21, adveniente diluculo); IV, X, 286, 26, ymb þæs dæges upyrne (Giles, III, 42, 22, circa exortum diei); IV, XXIV, 340, 25, swiþe ær in dagunge (Giles, III, 110, 3, primo diluculo); V, XIII (12), 422, 28, in dagunge (Giles, III, 200, 28, diluculo); V, XVII (19), 462, 9, on dagunge (Giles, III, 248, 28, illuscente die). Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, XXI, 172, mid þam þe hit dagode; XXIII, 489, mid þam dæge. Bede,[2] *Leechdoms*, III, 206, 1, swylce hit ealle niht dagie.

Crepusculum is glossed, Wright-Wülker's *Vocabularies*, 175, 34, by "tweone leoht vel deorcung," and in the *Concordia*, 475, 508, by "on leohtes þeorcunge." Dægred is the Morning Crepusculum in the technical sense used by Chaucer, *Astrolabe*, II, 6, Skeat, 20, "the spring of the dawyng and the ende of the evenynge, the which ben called the two Crepusculus."

II. *Prime.*

I have already shown that the Anglo-Saxons began their day at Prime or Sunrise (*Benedictine Service*, Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CXCVI, on þære forman dæg-tide, þæt is be sunnan upgange). The sunrise-machinery of the poets has been treated by Gummere in his *Anglo-Saxon Metaphor*.

A few prose examples are gleaned from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History:* I, XXI (23), 476, 6, oðer hiora (cometa) foreeode þa sunnan on morgen þonne heo upgangende wæs, oðer on æfenne æfter fyligde þonne heo on setl eode; IV, III (3), 264, 22, from eastsuðdæle heofones þæt is from heanisse þære winterlican sunnan upgonge (Giles, III, 18, 6, ab euro-austro, id est ab alto brumalis exortus); V, XIII (12), 428, 24, suðeast on ðon rodor swa swa seo wintre sunne uppgongeð; V, XIII (12), 424, 20, ongen norðeast rodor swa sunnan upgong bið æt middum sumere.

Byrhtferð tells us something of the Prime service, *Handboc*, 123, *Anglia*, VIII, 319: "On þam dæge ys seo forme tid prima gehaten, on þære sceolon gemearcode cnihtas geornlice to gode clypian and þa six tida bliðelice wurðian mid sealmsange godes lof up ahebban. Swa se haliga wer, Ambrosius in dagum cwæð, 'Jam lucis orto sidere,'" etc. This is the hymn at Prime in the *Benedictine Service* (Bouterwek's *Cædmon*, CC). In the *Colloquy* of Ælfric (Wright-Wülker, 101) the young monk says: "Æfter þysum prim and seofon sealmas and letania and capitos mæssan.

Numerous examples of Primsang present themselves: *Benedictine Rule*, Translation (Schröer), XVIII, 40, 21, to primsange (prima hora); XVIII, 42, 7, to primsange (ad primam); XLVIII, 73, 9, fram primsange (a prima); LXVIII, 115, 13, 14, on þære forman tide þæs dæges, prima hora diei (cf. 115, 14, 15, on þære oðre tide, secunda hora diei); Gloss (Logeman), XV, 45, 16, prim (prima); XVI, 45, 6, primsanges (primae); XVI, 46, 13, primsang (prima); XVII, 47, 5; XXIII, 105, 13, on þære forman tide (prima hora); XVIII, 49, 1, 3, æt primsange (ad primam); XVIII, 48, 14–15, on þære forman tide on sunnandæge (prima hora dominica); XLVIII, 81, 12, fram primsange (a prima); *Concordia* (Logeman, *Anglia*, XIII), 246, 248, 478, 509, 510, 667, 735, 912, 944, prim; 248, primsang.

The "Oratio ad Primam" in the *Durham Ritual* is thus composed: (1). Deus qui ad principium hujus diei nos pervenire fecisti, etc., etc. (2). Domine Deus omnipotens qui nos in hanc horam matutinam secundam per nocturnas caligines pervenire fecisti. "Hora matutina secunda" implies, perhaps, that Uhtsang was "hora matutina prima;" or else reference may be had to the two hours of which Prime was composed (Durand, *Rationale*, V, 2, p. 138).

In connection with the hours beginning at Prime, I may refer to the daily life of the Virgin, Assmann, Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, 127, Chap. X, Pseudo Matthaei Ev., line 341 (June 22): "And heo (Maria) gesette hyre sylfre haligne regol swa þæt heo wolde beon fram þære ærestan tide þæs

dæges on hyre halgum gebedum wuniende oð þæt þa þriddan tide and fram þære þriddan tide oð ða nigoþan tide ymbe hyre webb geweorc. And eft fram þære nigoðan tide heo þurhwunode standende on hyre gebedum oð þæt godes engel hyre ætywde."

Prime in Middle English.[1]

Prime has an interesting history. In the *Ancren Riwle*, p. 20, it appears in Canonical connection, but without its old "sunrise" meaning: "Prime iþe winter erlice, iþe sumor bivor deies;" p. 20 (Morris, *Selections*, IX, 311): "Also efter þe ancre cumplie [aðet prime] vort mid-morwen ne don no þing, ne ne singen hware þuruh hire silence muwe beon i-sturbed." Prime holds its place as a Canonical Hour in the *Holy Rood*, p. 223 (E. E. T. Soc., 46), and in the *Lay Folks Mass Book*, 86 (E. E. T. Soc., 71). Compare Horn, 977, bi pryme; 857, primetide.

Skeat, in his note to *Piers Plowman*, C. IX, 149, discusses the expression "hye prime," and shows that the Natural day (or day by the clock) is referred to. High Prime, Skeat believes, fell at 9 o'clock. Tyrwhit explains, in his note to Canterbury Tales, l. 3904, that the Prime period was a fourth part of the day (6–9 a. m.); and the long list of examples of the Chaucerian use of the expression, given by Skeat, *Astrolabe*, LXII, shows that Prime could be placed either at the beginning or end of this.

In his *Astrolabe* Preface, LXI–LXII, Skeat discusses the passage in the Nonne Preestes Tale, B. 4377, where Chanticleer's worth as a horologe is extolled; I defer to his article, and mention only the lines:

> "Caste up his eyen to the brighte sonne
> That in the signe of Taurus hadde y-ronne
> Twenty degrees and oon, and somwhat more

[1] Of the meaning of Prime we know, thanks to Skeat and Brae, a little more than when W. Carew Hazlitt explained it as Noon (cf. Lowell, "Library of Old Authors," *Essays*, Riverside Press ed., 1892, I, pp. 337–338).

He knew by kynde and by noon other lore
That it was Pryme, and crew with blisful stevene
The sonne, he sayde, is clomben up on hevene
Twenty (Forty) degrees and oon, and more y-wis."

The most superficial reader can see that Prime could not now be six o'clock, as the sun, at this hour, at this date, would not be far from the horizon.

By far the best authority on Chaucer's Prime is Brae, who leaves in his excellent essay on that subject (*Astrolabe*, 90–101) very little else to be said. The opinion of Brae and Skeat that Prime had, usually, at this time, the meaning of 9 o'clock is confirmed by these lines from the King's Quair, v, xx (Rogers' *Poetical Remains of James I*, 1873, p. 69; Skeat's *Specimens of Eng. Lit.*, 1394–1579, p. 386):

"Now hald thy grippis, quoth sche for thy time
An houre and more it rynis over prime
To count the hole, the half is nere away
Spend wele, therefore, the remanant of the day."

An hour or more over Prime or 9 o'clock causes half of the day to be "nere away." The three hours included in the Prime of this period—the Anglo-Saxon Prime included only "ipsa prima et secunda"—were called (Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, I, 224 sq.) Mane Plenum and Spatium orationum primarum.

When Prime acquired the meaning of 9 o'clock, it usurped the place of Undern (*infra*) as a meal hour; compare Shipman's Tale, B. 1396:

"And lat us dyne as sone as that ye may
For, by my chilindre, it is prime of day."

Prime in its earliest signification is not uncommon in later English poetry. Other examples may be added to those given in the *Century Dictionary*, sub "Prime," II, 2:

"Awake; the morning shines and the fresh field
Calls us; we lose the prime," etc.
(Paradise Lost, v, 20.)

"While day arises, that sweet hour of prime."
(Ibid., v, 170.)

"The season, prime for sweetest scents and airs."
(Ibid., IX, 200; compare Newton's Note.)

Tennyson-Turner employs the word in one of his best sonnets, "The Lattice at Sunrise" (Sharp's *Sonnets of this Century*, p. 233):

"Nightly and daily, like the flowing sea,
His lustre pierceth through the midnight glooms;
And at prime hour, behold! He follows me
With golden shadows to my secret rooms."

Undern.

The word Undern is common to all the Teutonic dialects, Fick, *Indogermanisches Wörterbuch*, VII, 34:

"An. Undern, Vormittag; Goth. Undaurni-mats, Mittagsessen; A. S. Undarn, Undern; Ags. Undern; Ahd. Untorn, Untarn; Mhd. Undern, Mittag, Mittags-essen."[1]

Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. v., "Morgen" assigns to Undaurns the meaning "Mittag." The single Gothic example, Undaurni-mats, translates the Greek ἄριστον ἢ δεῖπνον (prandium aut coenam), so it is impossible to determine the exact meaning in that dialect. According to the *Icelandic-English Dictionary* of Cleasby and Vigfusson (1874), the word occurs five times in Old Norse—once in the sense of mid-afternoon, twice as mid-forenoon, and twice as a meal-time, and is not found in provincial Icelandic of to-day. In Scandinavia (Ibid.) and in Bavaria (Schade, *Altdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 1872, s. v.) the word is used to indicate a "middle-meal," taken either in the forenoon or in the evening. Before the word had passed out of German literary use, it lost its old "morning" meaning and was equivalent to Merenda or Nach-

[1] Undern may possibly be connected with un-dyrne ("not dark") since it was the full morning hour. The forms of the word in other dialects rather sustain than oppose this view of its origin.

mittags (Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 1876, s. v.). The *Century Dictionary* shows that Undern means literally "the intervening time" (< Under = between) and gives two divisions of its use in provincial or obsolete English: (1). Nine o'clock in the morning; the period from nine o'clock to noon; the canonical hour of terce. (2). Noon or afternoon; also a noon-meal. With this necessary introduction, I can begin my study of Undern.

Undern in Anglo-Saxon.

Undern meant to the Anglo-Saxon the time midway between Sunrise and Midday, and was to the morning what None was to the afternoon (Horology). The "Martyr Book," *Shrine*, 79, says, "On þa þriddan tid dæges ðæt is on undern," and the Benedictine service (Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CCXIV) gives a characteristically symbolical reason why Undern should be celebrated: "Undern is dæges þriddan tide þonne is eac rihtlic þæt we to þære þriddan tide þa halgan þrynesse georn lice herian." Undern is always the gloss to Tertia Hora: Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 175, 44; *Benedictine Rule*, Gloss, XV, 45, 16, undersang = tertia; XVI, 46, 13, undernsanc = tertia; XVII, 47, 10, undersanges = tertie; XVIII, 48, 17, undernsang = tertia; XVIII, 49, 8, to undernsange = ad tertiam; XVIII, 49, 14, æt undernsange = tertiam; XLVIII, 82, 15, oð þære þriddan tide = usque ad tertiam; *Benedictine Rule*, Translation, XVII, 41, 3, on undern = tercia; XVIII, 42, 3–4, on undern = tercia; XVIII, 42, 5, on undern; XVIII, 42, 17, to undernsange = ad terciam; XVIII, 42, 22, on undern = ad tertiam; XLVIII, 73, 10, forneah an tid over undern = ad horam pene quartam—this shows the definiteness of Undern; XLVIII, 74, 4, an tid to underne = ad horam secundam; XLVIII, 74, 11, fram ærmorgen oð heane undern ("Winteney," fram ærne morgen oð heahne undern) = a mane usque ad terciam plenam; "Winteney," XLVIII, 99, 16, an tid toforan undern = hora secunda; *Concordia*, Logeman,

314, 315, 329, 331, 554, 672, 953, Undern = tertia; 57, Undersange (MS.) = tertia; *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Matt., XX, 3, ymbe undern-tide (Hatton, ymbe under-tid) = circa tertiam horam; Mark, XV, 25, undern-tid (Hatton, under-tid) = tertia hora."

Cockayne renders the "to middes morgenes" of *Leechdoms*, II, 116, 17, by 7 o'clock. "As the morning begins," he says, "at dawn and ends at Undern, our nine o'clock, the middle will be about seven on the average." The absolute incorrectness of his translation is shown, first by *Ecclesiastical Institutes*, XLV, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 488, where Undern is replaced by Middemorgenne, and secondly by the use of Mid-morrow for Undern in Middle English (*infra*). In Old Norse, "miðsmorguns" is not a synonym of "undurn," but falls at Prim (*Norges Gamle Love*, B. II, I, 308, cited by Cleasby-Vigfusson, s. v. Undorn); cf. Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, s. v. Undern.

The Anglo-Saxon Undern had, therefore, a definite signification and, unlike the Undern of later English, could mean only "tertia hora" or "mid-morning." Grein and Heyne, misled probably by Germanic analogies, translate "undernmael" (*Beowulf*, 1429) by "Mittag." Even Sweet's rendering (*Anglo-Saxon Reader*, Glossary to 14a/300, 20/178) "morning" is far too indefinite. Bright, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, Glossary, s. v., gives "mid-morning" as an equivalent. In *Leechdoms*, II, 184, 25, on æfenne ge on underne, the "morning" meaning might possibly be preferred, but in nearly every case "tertia hora" is its synonym.

Other Anglo-Saxon examples sustain the above view: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A°. 530, A. B. C. F., fulneah healfe tid over undern (E. under); A°. 530, A. fram ærmergenne oð undern (cited *supra*); A°. 1122, E. fram þa undern dæies to þa swarte niht; *Blickling Homilies*—Morris's Glossary, s. v.: "the third hour in the morning, also the forenoon from nine to twelve"—93, 22, æt underne (wrongly translated, "at noon"); 93, 36, ær underne (before the third hour); 93, 15, ofer undern (after the third hour); 47, 17, undern-tid (9 o'clock); 133, 27, undern-

tid (translated, "undern-time"); 155, 19; 201, 25, æt þære þriddan tide; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 74, undern; I, 314, hit is undern-tid; I, 504, 22, ane tyd ofer undern; II, 74, eft on undern; II, 76, Ure cnihthad swylce undern-tide on þam unstihþ ure geoguþ swa swa seo sunne deþ ymbe þære þriddan tide (*supra*).

Undern in Canonical Usage.—Undern was, among the Anglo-Saxons, the time of the morning mass (Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 27): Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, XXIII, 38, 32, Fram undern tide, þonne mon mæssan oftost singeþ; Ælfric's *Homilies*, II, 358, 20, ymbe undern-tid, ða ða se broðor wæs gewunod to mæssigenne (Thorpe translates "ninth hour"); *Colloquy* of Ælfric (Wright-Wülker, 101, 17), syþþan undertide and dydon mæssa (MS.) be dæge; Byrhtferð, 126, *Anglia*, VIII, 320, 4, Hwæt þa halgan underntid arcebiscopas mid gehadedum þegnum kyrtenlice wynsumiað and þa æþelan munecas þære tide lof mid kyrriole and engla lofsange gewurðiað.

There were reasons for an important service at Undern (*Benedictine Service*, Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CCXIV): "On undern we sculon God herian forþam on undern-timan Crist wæs þurh þæra Judêa dom to deaþe fordemed and toweard þære rode gelæd þe he siððan on þrowode for ealles middaneardes alysednysse. And eft æfter his æriste on pentecostenes dæg com se halga gast on undern-timan ofer þa apostolas."

I may mention here the "ær underne" of Aldred's very important autograph memorandum in the *Durham Ritual*, Stevenson, p. 185.

Undern as a Meal-time.—Undern was the Anglo-Saxon breakfast hour. Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 281, 30, undermete = prandium (æfenmete = coena); 479, 3, undern-mete = sub modio; Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, IV (6), 164, 30, æt his undernswæsendum (Giles, 280, 12, ad prandium); Ælfred robs the epigrammatic Latin, "Prandite tamque apud inferos coenaturi," of all its force (*Orosius*, Sweet, II, V, 84, 30): "Mid þæm þe he sprecend wæs to his geferum æt his

underngereord ær he to þæm gefeohte fore: 'Uton ne brucan þisses undermetes swa þa sculon þe heora æfen-giefl on helle gefeccean sculon.'" *Pastoral Care*, XLIV, 322, 19, underngifl oððe æfengifl (Gregory, XX, C, M. *P. L.*, 77, 84, prandium aut coenam); *Blickling Homilies*, 99, 2, heora underngereordu and æfengereordu hie mengdon togædere; Salomon and Saturn, Kemble, 193, 59, On XII monþum þu scealt sillan þinum þeowan men, VII hund hlafa and XII hlafa buton morgen-metum and non-metum.

We have (in the *Leechdoms*) far more direct evidence to the time of the first meal. One sufferer with a bad digestion is directed (II, 178, 1) to take "to undernes" bread broken in hot-water or peeled apples; for another dyspeptic is prescribed (II, 194, 3) a very deadly diet of hard-boiled eggs, roots, lettuce, giblets, goose, etc.; other more unpalatable doses are ordered (II, 18; II, 140, LXIX; II, 346, 4), and finally the invalid is to "take his constitutional" at that hour (II, 182). Quite à tort I quote III, 196, that the 26th Moon, "fram undertid oð non nis na god mona blod lætan."

On fasting days the hungry faster was not allowed to compensate himself for the loss of breakfast (undern-gereord) and dinner by gastronomic prowess at the evening meal (æfen-gifle or gyfel) ("Ecclesiastical Institutes," XXXVIII, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 486): "On undern and on æfen" was the time of meals on Quadragesima Sundays (Ælfric, *Lives of Saints*, XII, 2).

Undern in Middle English.

Two things must be noted in studying the later history of the Anglo-Saxon hours:

I. As Canonical Hours they were rather comprehensive, including often the quarter of a day. This served to increase their vagueness and to prevent their names being limited definitely to single hours. In the case of Prime and Undern the hours of early-morning and mid-morning service were not changed, but the names came to be applied rather to the end

than to the beginning of the "spatium orationis." How None was used for a division of time, two hours before the old "nona hora," will be considered later.

II. The introduction of clocks into England during the 13th and 14th Centuries (*supra* sub Horologies) established "equinoctial" hours and caused the old temporary divisions to lose their meaning. This innovation did not affect Prime and Undern, which were not destined to live long in the language, as decidedly as it did None.

The Middle English examples of Undern that I shall give are not, of course, exhaustive; yet, in spite of their limited number, they will illustrate, I hope, the different stages in the word's history.

Two questions must be discussed under Undern:

A. The change of meaning in Undern itself.

B. The connection of Undern with Undermele and Undertide.

A.

(a). In religious poems and prose, scriptural events connect themselves immediately with certain hours and indicate their time.

In *Orm*, 19458 (Holt, 1878, II, 374), the meaning is not uncertain:

"Godes gast off heffne com
I firen onnlicnesse
Uppo the Laferrd Cristess hird
An dagg at unndern time."

The Gift of Tongues was at "hora tercia diei" (Acts, II, 15). In *Ancren Riwle*, 24, 426, it is equal, as in Anglo-Saxon usage, to Mid-morrow, and Ibid., 400, Under-tid is the time of the ascent to the cross (Mark, XV, 25, hora tertia). *Holy Rood*, p. 222 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 46), "at hondren day on eode þe giwes grene; *Legend of St. Katharine*, l. 2940 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 80, p. 122):

"Fridei onont te under
I þe dei and þe time
þ. hire deore leofmon

Jesuse ure loverd
Leafde lif on rode
Fur hire and fur us alle."

Latin—hora tercia, servans videlicet diem et horam. *Lay Folk's Mass Book*, 84 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 71, 1879), tells of the cries of the Jews at the 3rd hour: "At the time of oundren þai gan cry and call;" Ibid., p. 131, l. 125 ("Vernon MS."), gives the time of travelers' masses:

"In þe morweninge ȝif þou may
And ȝif þou may not do so
I rede beo underne or þou go
Or elles be heiȝ midday."

William of Shoreham, Wright, p. 81, names: "Thyse oures of the Canone at matyn-tyde by nyȝte—at prime—at ondre—atte syxte tyde—atte none—at evesange—at complyn; Ibid., p. 84, "Crucyfige! Crucifige! Greddon hi at ondre" (tercia hora).

In *Cursor Mundi* (A. D. 1320), l. 16741, Undern has asumed the meaning of "midday:" "Be þis was undren on þe dai þat mirckend al þe light (cf. Matt., XXVII, 45; Mark, XV, 33; Luke, XXIII, 44, "Erat autem fere hora sexta et tenebrae factae sunt," etc.). The "midday" meaning of Undern is common in the speech of Wycliffe. Contrast with William of Shoreham's list (*supra*), the Canonical Hours in Wycliffe's *Rule of St. Francis* (Matthew, *E. E. T. Soc.*, 74, p. 41): "But late lewid freris seie four and twenti pater nostris for matynes, for laudes five, for prime, tierce (9 a. m.), undren (12 m.) and noon (3 p. m.), for eche of hem seven pater nostris and for evensong twelve and for compleyn sevene" (Note). Many examples are found in the Wycliffite versions of the *New Testament* (Forshall and Madden, 1850): Matt., XX, 3, thridde our (A. S. undern); Mark, XV, 25, Forsoth it was the thridde our that men clepen undrun (Variants, p. 136, unduren, undren, underne); Mark, XV, 33, and the syxte our or mydday (Variants, p. 137, or undurne); Luke, XXIII, 44, Sothly it was almost the sixte

our (Variants, our or middai, hour or underne); John, IV, 7, Sothli the our was the syxte or undurn (Var., midday); Acts, II, 15, It is thridde our of the day or underne.

In the South Undern retains its old meaning. As the passage from the *Cursor Mundi* indicates, the "midday" signification is doubtless one of the traces of the North in Wycliffe's work, or may indicate a Northern scribe. It is not surprising to find the word assuming before it disappeared from literature, the meaning "midday" in the very section where it was to have for centuries a signification unknown to the Anglo-Saxons.

(b). In non-scriptural usage it is harder to find the time. Bradley-Stratmann gives several examples of the word's occurrence, but I shall mention only instances that determine its meaning:

Old English Miscellanies, 33 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 49), at undren and at midday also; 56, 657, at þon heye undarne (this has undoubtedly the "tercia plena" meaning of *Ben. Rule*, Trsl., XLVIII, 74, 11, quoted *supra*—cf. high prime, *Piers Plowman*, C. IX, 149, and "heie none," *Holy Rood*, 44, 308); *Alexander*, 5853 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, Extra Ser. 47), myd over underne (Skeat's Note); *Alliterative Poems*, A. 512 (Morris, *E. E. T. Soc.*, I; Gollancz, Pearl, 1891, stanza 43), aboute under: the Editor of *Catholicon Anglicanum*, s. v., Orendron and Gollancz, in his Edition de luxe, translate this as "Noon," but the sense of "third hour" is clear; *Holy Rood*, 721 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 46, 82), betwix þe underen and þe prime; Chaucer, B. 4412, Till it was passed undern of the day: Morris, in his Clarendon Press Ed. of *Prologue, etc.*, Glossary, s. v., assigns Undern in the last passage to 11 a. m. I prefer to think with Brae (Essay on Prime, *Astrolabe*) that it is synchronous with the 9 o'clock Pryme of B. 4387 (Skeat, *Astrolabe*, LXI). Tyrwhitt explains Chaucer, v. 8136 (Clerk's Tale) = E. 260, "the time of undurne of the same day," as the third hour of the day or 9 o'clock; the original here has "hora prandii" from which we may, with reason, infer that Undern was in

Chaucer's day a meal-time. In v. 8857 (Tyrwhitt's Ed.) = E. 981, Undern translates "hora tertia." Thus, whatever may be true of the North, in the southerly counties, Undern retained to the end its Anglo-Saxon meaning.[1]

A few words about the later history of Undern: *Catholicon Anglicanum*, p. 261, gives these definitions: "Orendron—Meridies; Orendron-mete—Merenda; To ete orendron-mete —Merendinare." The *Promptorium Parvulorum* definition will be discussed later.

In the *Collection of North Country Words*, made by Ray in 1691 (*Eng. Dialect Soc.*, XV, 1874), cited by Skeat, *Etymological Dictionary*, and by the *Century*, we find numerous corruptions of Undern: "Aandorn sb. Merenda, an afternoon meal; Orndorns, afternoon drinking (Cumberland); Aunder or Oneder (Cheshire), Doundrins (Derby), Dondinner (Yorkshire) = afternoon drinking. Undern has thus acquired, in modern dialects, a meaning which, in literary English, it never assumed.

B.

Tyrwhitt, Glossary, is perplexed by the etymology of "undermeles," but refers to the passage cited by Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, Vol. I, VI, 36 (Ed. of 1777, I, p. 229 sq.), from the Town Book of Stamford, XVIII, E. IV: "It is ordeyned that no person opyn their sack or let the corn to sale before the hour of ten of the clok, or else the undernone bell be rongyn."

"Undertime," says Nares in his *Glossary* (London, 1876), "means Evening from Under and time, the inferior or under part of the day. It has no connection with Undern which, as we have seen, refers to an early hour before Noon." Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, *Chaucer's Complete Works*, Notes to Canterbury Tales, p. 315, claims that such a connection exists.

[1] I cannot find the slightest authority for Skeat's statement (*Chaucer's Complete Works*, Notes to Canterbury Tales, p. 345; Glossary, s. v. Undern) that Undern meant sometimes 10.30 or 11 a. m., sometimes an afternoon hour.

The best argument against Nares' position is one from example. I cite some instances already mentioned: *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Matt., xx, 3, Hatton MS., under-tid; Mark, xv, 25, Corp. undern-tide, Hatton, under tid; *Ben. Service*, Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, ccxiv, undern-timan; *Beowulf*, 1429, undern-mael; Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 101, 17, undertid; 281, 30, under-mete; *Orosius*, ii, v, 84, 30, undermetes; *Leechdoms*, iii, 196, 8, undertid; *Concordia*, 57, undersang; *Ben. Rule*, Gloss, xv, 45, 16, undersang. To continue into Middle English the history of these forms: *Ancren Riwle*, 400, under-tid; Ritson, *Metrical Romances*, ii, 251, Orpheus 73, undertyde (cited by Bradley-Stratmann); Böddeker, "Harleian MS. 2253," p. 184, Geistliche Lieder, ii, 5, at under (9 o'clock); St. Katharine, 2940 (*supra*), onont te under; *All. Poems*, A. 512 (*supra*), aboute under. The above list shows the identity of Under and its compounds with Undern—a clear case of "phonetic decay."

Under-mele was however to change its meaning. Trevisa (v, 173) translates Higden's Latin, "meridiano tempore" by "under-mele-tide;" here the "Harleian MS. 2261" reads "in his meridien tyme." In Chaucer's well-known "undermeles and morweninges" (Wife of Bath's Tale, D. 875) an afternoon time is indicated, but the idea of repast is not necessarily present. That the name of the meal, however, was connected on certain occasions with the period of the day is shown very strikingly, Tale of Beryn, 226 (*Chaucer Society*, 2nd Ser., 17, 1876):

> "Then al this aftyr-mete I hold it for the beste
> To sport and pley us, quod the hoost, eeche man as him leste."

Ibid., l. 388:

> "They wissh and sett rigte as he bad each man with his frere
> And bigonne to talk of sportis and of chere
> þat they had the after-mete whils þey were out."

The context shows that "after-mete" was the period between the Midday-meal and Supper.

No very rigid laws can be applied to these hour-changes. An analogous case to the one that I am discussing presents itself. In many sections of America, certainly of the Southern States, Noon has the well-defined meaning of Midday, while Afternoon is used to cover the period between the 2nd and 3rd meals (roughly speaking, 3–7 p. m.). Just such a case is the one before us. Undern and Under-mele gradually became separated, the divergence being assisted by popular etymology[1] and by such reasons as I have given at the beginning of my treatment of the Middle English Undern. The difference in meaning is particularly striking in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (1450), Way, 1865, p. 511: "Underne (Undyre and Undermele), Submeridianum, Submesimbria, C. F. In Mesimbria; Undermele, Postmeridies, Postmesimbria, Merarium." It will aid my discussion of None to note here that these meanings of Under-mele and After-mete constitute a strong argument in favor of a meal at Midday.

The later history of Under-mele has been traced by Nares. His examples (*Glossary*, s. v.) show that it was not an uncommon word in Elizabethan English, and that it then and later bore the meaning of Afternoon (Coles, *Eng. Dictionary*, 1677).

Middæg.

This Hour does not need much comment. In canonical use it was one of the less important services and is always the translation of Sexta hora or Meridies:

Benedictine Rule, Gloss (Logeman), XV, 45, 16; XVI, 46, 14; XVIII, 47, 10; XVIII, 48, 17, 49, 9, 49, 14; XXIII, 56, 13; XXXVIII, 70, 11–12; XLI, 73, 4; XLVIII, 81, 15, middægsang = sexta; Translation (Schröer), XVII, 41, 3; XVIII, 42, 4, 17, 23; XXIV, 42, 23; XXIV, 49, 7; XLVIII, 73, 11, middæg = sexta; *Concordia*, Logeman, 371 (twice), 674, 687, 955, 956, middæg = sexta.

[1] If "Under" had aught of its old "between" meaning, it was natural that "undermele" should fall in the afternoon, between dinner and supper.

In other texts it has the same meaning:

Orosius, III, v, 104, niht oð midne dæg (nox usque ad plurimam diei partem); IV, 7, 184, 28, niht oð midne dæg (nocte multa lucem claram effulsus); Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, II, XIII (16), 144, 12, æt middum dæge (Giles, II, 240, 3, die media); IV, VIII (7), 284, 16, þon sunnan leoht biŏ æt middan dæge (Giles, III, 40, 4, sol meridianus); IV, XXXIII (32), 384, 1, þa hit wæs foreweard middæges (Giles, III, 156, 8, imminente hora ipsius diei); V, VI (6), 402, 1, wæs hit huhugu seo seofoðe tid dæges, ðæt is an tid ofer midne dæg (Giles, III, 176, 16, erat autem hora diei circiter septima); V, XIII (12), 430, 7, oðþe ðære middæglican sunnan sciman (Giles, III, 206, 33, sive solis meridiani radiis). *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Matt., XXV, 5, ymbe þa sixtan tide; Matt., XXVIII, 45, fram þære sixtan oð þa nigoþan tide; Mark., XV, 33, and on þære sixtan tide; Luke, XXIII, 44, seo syxte tid; John, IV, 6, VII, 14, middæg; IX, 14, seo syxte tid. *Old Testament* (Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, I), Gen., XLIII, 16, to middes dæges, meridie; Deut., XXVIII, 29, on midne dæg, in meridie; *Blickling Homilies*, 91, 28, on midne dæg; 145, 27, ær þære syxtan tide þæs dæges; Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, 108, 18, 228, 14, fram middæge oð non; I, 128, 12, ofer midne dæg; Ælfric, *Lives of Saints*, III, 341; XVIII, 16, oð ofer midne dæg; III, 590, middeges (at midday); III, 595, oð middæg; *Leechdoms*, I, 180, Chap. LXXVII, to middan-dæge; II, 28, 5, þonne middæg sie; II, 140, Chap. LXIV, on þreo tida, on undern, on middæg and on' non; II, 146, Chap. LXXII; III, 74, 6, on middel-dagum; II, 288, 25, he sceal fæstan oð midne dæg; III, 186, 5; 188, 22; 190, 20; 194, 24; 196, 4, syxtan tide; Wright-Wülker, *Voc.*, 175, 45, sexta, middæg; 450, 5, middægtid, meridies.

The *Benedictine Service*, Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CCXVI, enjoins a service of praise at Midday "forðon to middes dæges Crist wæs on rode aþened," etc.

The connection of Midday with the meal-time of the Anglo-Saxons will be considered under the head of None.

None.

Peck, in his *Desiderata Curiosa*, I, 124 sq., regards Noon as a contraction of the Latin "novus dies" and argues from this that the Saxons began the Natural Day[1] at Midday. He has been followed, it is needless to say, by no later writer. The Anglo-Saxon None, etymologically our Noon, has always the meaning of "nona hora:"

Benedictine Rule, Gloss, XV, 46, 5, none (Lat.); XV, 46, 14, nonsanc = nona; XVII, 47, 10–11, nonsanges = none; XVIII, 49, 15, æt nonsange = nonam; XXIII, 56, 14, to nonas = nona; XXXVIII, 70, 12, nones = none; XLI, 73, 7, oð non = usque ad nonam; XLI, 73, 15, to nonas = ad nonam; XLVIII, 81, 18; 82, 10; 82, 11–12, þære nontide = hore none; Translation, XVII, 41, 3; XVIII, 42, 4; XXIV, 49, 7, 8, on non = nona; XVIII, 42, 18, to nonsange = ad nonam; XVII, 42, 23, on non = ad nonam; XLVIII, 73, 14, sy se non geradod and sy gehringed þonne seo eahtoðe tid bið healf agan; XLVIII, 74, 12, an tid ofer non = ad decimam plenam; *Concordia*, 378, 483, 567, 674, 732, 734, 737, non = nona; 833, tide nones = hora nona. Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, XIV, 296, 14, gefylledre nontide; *Shrine*, 80, 1, oð ða nigeðan tid þæt is þonne non; 85, 30, on ða nygeðan tide þæt is on ðone non. *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Matt., XXVII, 45; Luke, XXIII, 44, oþ þa nygoþan tide; Matt., XX, 5, ymbe þa sixtan and nigoþan tide; XXVII, 46, and ymbe þa nigoþan tide; Mark, XV, 33, oð non-tide = usque in horam nonam; XV, 34, to non-tid = hora nona; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 216, þa embe nontid; I, 228, fram middæge oþ non; II, 74, se non fram Moyse oð Dryhtnes to-cyme; II, 76, seo non-tid bið ure yld forðan ðe on non-tide asyhð seo sunne and ðæs ealdigendan mannes mægen bið wanigende (*supra*); II, 256, hwæt ða, ymbe midne dæg wearð middaneard aðeostrod and seo

[1] Let me emphasize here—as I have done in my first pages—the Saxon "Natural." As distinguished from the classical idea, it is always connected with equal hours.

sunne, behydde hire hatan leoman oð ða nigoðan tide, ðe we non hataþ (a reference to the Passion); *Leechdoms*, II, 140, Chap. LXIV, on non; II, 290, 7, to nones;[1] III, 186, 5, fram tide þære syxtan oð non god mona (4th Moon) blod lætan; III, 194, 3, oð ða nigoþen; III, 196, 4, 8, oð non; III, 196, 17, fram non-tide; Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 101, 19, we sungon non; 175, 46, non = nona hora. The *Benedictine Service* gives the reason for worship at this hour (Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CCXVI): "On nontiman we sculon God herian forþam on þone timan Crist gebæd for þam þe him deredon and siððan his gast asende and on þone timan sculon geleaffulle men hi georne gebiddan" (cf. Bouterwek, CXC).

None as a Meal-time.

Wright, *Homes of Other Days*, 1871, p. 34, is inclined to consider None the meal-time, as Midday and not as one of the Canonical Hours. I shall take a very similar view of the Middle English None, but Wright's statement is certainly not true of the Anglo-Saxon dinner-hour.

The Glosses help us in finding the time of the 2nd meal; Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 147, 30, Merenda = Non-mete; 282, 13; 353, 28, Annona = Non-mete. Bells summoned the monks to their meals at None; *Ben. Rule*, Translation, XLVIII, 98, 5: "Siððan hy þone forman cnyll to none gehyren, gongen hy ealle from hyra weorce and don hy gearuwe þæt hi magon to cirican þonne man eft cnylle. Ðonne eft æfter heora nongereorde ('Winteney,' 99, 20, non-mete = refectio) ræden hy eft heora bec oððe hyra psalmas singan." The *Concordia*, l. 374, commands, with even more definiteness that, at the first none bell (primum signum nonae), the monks should wash their hands and prepare themselves for the repast. In the

[1] The adverbial phrases, "to nones," "to middes dæges" (Gen., XLIII, 16) are to be rendered, as the contexts show, "at noon," "at midday." "To æfenes" (Conf. Ecgberti, XXX, Th., *A. L.*, 355) means undoubtedly "till evening" (for this and like phrases, compare Sievers-Cook, *Old English Grammar*, p. 178, § 320, Note).

Colloquy of Ælfric (Wright-Wülker, *Voc.*, 103) the young monk places "the eating and drinking" after Middaysong, but in the *Benedictine Rule*, XLI, it is directed that the times of meals vary with the seasons: "From Easter to Pentecost let the brothers refresh themselves at the sixth hour (Logeman, 65, 14, þæs middæges gereord). During the Summer if the labors of the field do not hold them and the heat disturb them, let them fast even to None on Wednesday and Friday; on other days let them take their meals at the 6th Hour. From the Ides of September let them ever refresh themselves at None (to nones gereorden)." That the Anglo-Saxon drafters of the *Concordia* found such a variation of the meal-hour necessary is shown by their enjoining (l. 560) the monks to take "from Easter to Holyrood Day dinner at sext, followed by the meridien sleep; from Holyrood Day to Lent, on Wednesdays and Fridays in the Summer, and at all the fasts of the order, dinner at None." According to *Benedictine Rule*, Chap. XXIV, 49, 7, an excommunicated person should receive his dinner alone after the dinner-time of the brothers, if the brothers at Midday, he at Noon, if the brothers at Noon, he at Evening. That Noon was the dinner hour of all classes is indicated by an interesting entry in the *Chronicle* (E. 1140): "þerefter in þe Lengten þestrede þe sunne and te daei abuton non-tid daies þa men eten þæt men lihtede candles to æten bi."

None on Fast Days.

Bede tells us (*Eccl. Hist.*, III, 5, 162, 8) that, by the example of Bishop Aidan, it became the habit for all religious people to fast up to the ninth hour (to nones) on the fourth and six days[1] of the week except during fifty days after Easter.

[1] That honor was paid to Wednesday and Friday by the Anglo-Saxons, the Laws give ample evidence: Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, LV; Theodore, "Penitentiale," XVII, 6, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 283; "Excerptions" of Ecgbert, 108, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 335; "Constitutions" of Odo, Spelman, *Concilia*, p. 417, Johnson, 362; "Excerptions" of Ecgbert, XXXVI, Thorpe, 329; "Canons" of Ælfric, 37, Thorpe, 450; Edgar's Laws, II, 5, Schmid, 188; Athelred, V, 17, Schmid, 224; VI, 24, Schmid, 230; Canute, I, 16, Schmid, 262; Athelstan, V, 3, Schmid, 154; *Leechdoms*, III, 224.

Two of the MSS. of the "Confessionale" of Ecgbert, Archbishop of York, contain this interesting addendum (XXXVII, N. 6, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 358): "On þam ærran dæge æt geolum (y. = Bodl. Laud, F. 17, middan wintra) æt none, siððan mæsse byð gesungen heo gereordiað Romani; Grecas to æfenne, þonne æfen bið gesungen and mæsse, þonne foð hi to mete."

Wulfstan (*Homilies*, LV (1a), 284, 28; XXIX, (25), 136, 16; XVII (22), Sermo in XL, 102, 23) enjoins every healthy man to fast until None (to nones) on every Lenten day. *Ecclesiastical Institutes*, XXXIX, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 486, and the Sermon on the 3rd Sunday in Lent (Assmann, Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, p. 140), unite in declaring that it is no fitting fast to take to meat as soon as one hears the none-bell (Sermon: "sona swa hy þæt belltacen gehyrað þære nigoþan tide, þæt is seo non-tid"); but it is proper to postpone the meal until after evening-service (Sermon, "æfenþenunge").

None in Middle English.

Johnson, Note to Edgar's *Canons* (Baron's ed., p. 410), explains thus the change in the meaning of None:

"The monks could not eat their dinner till they had said their noonsong, which was a service regularly to be said at three o'clock, but they probably anticipated their devotions and their dinner by saying their noondaysong immediately after their middaysong and presently falling on. But it may fairly be supposed that when Midday became the time of dining and saying noonsong it was for that reason called Noon by the monks." This is true in part. *Ancren Riwle*, p. 21, shows, however, that during a great part of the year the 2nd meal preceded Nones.

Skeat, *Etymological Dictionary*, Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, and the *Century Dictionary* claim that the time of the Church Service called Nones was altered and that the term came to be applied to Midday. My own view is this. The

time of None became settled at midday, after the introduction of clock hours and a fixed time-standard, because the None-meal was eaten at 12 o'clock. My reasons for this opinion may be thus stated:

1. Even in Anglo-Saxon times the time of the 2nd meal was varying. The examples from the *Benedictine Rule* and the *Concordia*, given under *None as a Meal-time*, show this.

2. The Canonical Hour, Nones, retained its meaning of 9th Hour long after None had been applied to Midday. To sustain this by example: Layamon, v. 31733 (Madden, 1847, III, 276), indicates a "ninth hour" meaning:

> "þa hit wes uppen non
> þa sunne gan to nipen."

Id., II, 163, v. 14039 (Bradley-Stratmann); II, 291, 17063 B.-S. are not determinative. "At midday and at none" of *Old English Miscellany*, p. 50 B.-S., and of the Parable of Vineyard, Böddeker (MS. Harl. 2253), 185, 1, shows a retention of the old signification. In the *Lives of the Saints* (c. 1300), 56, 217, 232 (Horstmann), the Canonical Nones retains its position: "& siþþe also prime and underne siþþe and middai and afterwardes non." Such is the case in the "York Hours of the Cross" (c. 1300) (*Lay Folks Mass Book*, E. E. T. Soc., 71, 86, 54):

> "At the tyme of none Jesus gun cry
> He wytte his saul to his fader."

And William of Shoreham (Wright, 1849, p. 86) connects the Hour with the death of Christ. Wycliffe always assigns to None the meaning of 9th Hour: *Rule of St. Francis*, p. 41 (*supra*); Matt., XX, 3, sixte hour and nynethe; Mark, XV, 33, til in to the nynthe hour, that is noon; Luke, XXIII, 44, to the nynthe hour (Variants, or none); Acts, III, 1, at the nynthe our of preying; Acts, X, 3, nynthe hour or noon. Noon is applied to Midday early in the 14th Century, but Nones, the time of holy worship, is still the 9th hour in the Roman Breviary and the Anglican Hymnal.

3. When None is applied to Midday it still remains the meal-hour. I trace rapidly its history. Very often None is a mere expletive: *Guy of Warwick* (*E. E. T. Soc.*, Extr. Ser., 25–26), l. 3342, till none; 5928, longe or none; *Generydes*, Wright, 180 (E. E. T. Soc., 55, 6), er it be none; Athelstan, *Reliq. Antiq.*, II, 90, or it be none; II, 95, or none. In King Horn, however, None is the dinner-hour (l. 358):

"Go nu quaþ heo sone
And send him *after none*
* * * *
l. 368, Horn in halle fond he þo
Before þe kyng on benche
[Red] wyn for to schenche
Horn quaþ he so hende
To bure nu þu wende
After mete stille
With Rymenhild to dwelle."

We find in *Concordia*, l. 484, þæne non na fylige scence; and the very expression None-chence is used as the name of donations to drink for workmen, Letter Book G., fol. IV (1354), Riley's *Memorials of London*, 265, Note 7 (cited Skeat's Note to *Piers Plowman*, IX, 158, Nuncheon). Another citation from Horn (l. 801):

"þe King him makede a feste
wiþ his knigtes beste
þer cam in at non."

At the end of the 13th Century, the very time of the introduction of clocks, None suffered change. The earliest undoubted example of a midday-meaning that I have discovered is from Horstmann, *Lives of the Saints* (1285–1300), 45, 402, 311:

"For þat is evene above þin heved rigt atþe nones stounde
Onunder þine fet evene it (the sun) is at midnigt onder þe grounde . . .
And noon it is benethen us! whane it is here midnigt."

Cf. Id., 27, 1469, 148; 39, 137, 264: Morris is wrong, however, in assigning such a meaning to *Specimens*, I, 3a, 81;

6a, b 255, etc. Ritson, *Metrical Romances*, II, 251, 73, points to a midday-meaning:

"And lete him slepe tyl after none
That the under-tyde was agane."

(Yet under-tyd may be postmesimbria). *Cursor Mundi*, 16764:

"Be þis it was þe dai sun gane
þat comen was to none."

The allusion is to Christ's death and the Canonical meaning is kept; but it is significant that in those texts (*Cursor Mundi* and Wycliffe), where Undern becomes Midday, None is the 9th Hour.

The 12 o'clock None is still the dining hour; *Piers Plowman*, C. 7, 429; 9, 146, Nones, the noon meal; 9, 290, None; 3, 100, before None. Skeat (Id., E. E. T. Soc., 67) shows in his Note, p. 165, to 9, 146, "that the hour named None is what we now call noon, viz., 12 o'clock," and that we are to understand the "anchorites and hermites as having but one meal a day and that at Midday?" In Chaucer the midday-meaning is fixed, *Astrolabe*, Part II, 4, 18: "I mene from XI of the clokke biforn the hour of noon til on of the clok next folwyng." Yet in the pseudo-Chaucerian *Tale of Beryn*, C. Series, II, 17, 169, the pilgrims dine at this hour:

"And sith þey drouȝ to dynerward, as it drouȝ to noon."[1]

Undermele and aftermete (*supra*) bespeak a Midday dinner, and the Glosses tell the same story: *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I, 6, "Liber Festivalis," non-mete, merenda; *Promptorium Parvulorum*, p. 360, nun-mete, merenda, anticinium, receives a copious note from Way (Id., 360, IV, 3). The word "Nooning" that he cites is in itself a strong argument for the close connection between Noon and the Middle English meal-time

[1] Although Wright, *Homes of Other Days*, p. 405, quotes largely from the *Tale of Beryn*, he does not mention this very important line. It would perhaps interfere with his theory (p. 261) of an early breakfast, a 9 o'clock dinner, and a 5 p. m. supper.

(Way s. v. Bever; Hampson, *M. A. Kalendarium*, s. v.). The change in meaning is therefore to be looked for in the shifting of Nooning and Nuncheon to Midday.[1]

Æfen.

A good definition of the time of Æfen is found in *Allit. Poems*, A. 512 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 64):

"At the day of date of even-songe
An oure byfore the sonne go doun."

This allows for the change of the Artificial Day, and corresponds exactly to the definition of Durand, *Rationale*, v, ii, 138,

[1] Noon or 12 o'clock was undoubtedly the meal-hour in 1475, according to "MS. Harl. 5086, fol. 86–90," *The Babees Book*, 129 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, vol. 32 (1868), p. 5):

"At none
Whenne that ye se youre lorde to mete shall go."

The Ballads furnish the same evidence; compare Gest of Robyn Hode, Second Fytte, stanza 143 (Gummere, *Old English Ballads*, 1894, p. 21):

"So longe abode Robyn fastinge
Thre houres after the none."

Id., stanza 156:

"Therefore he was fastinge
Til it was past the none."

Now what relation did the French Nonne bear to the English None, and what influence did the French hours exert upon those that we have been studying? Almost none. Godefroy's Dictionnaire (1888) s. v. Nonne, and the Indexes in the Publications of the Société des Anciens Textes Français show that Nonne had originally the meaning of "ninth hour," but that it appears, in the sense of Midday, in late 15th Century texts. No French critic has as yet fixed the times of Froissart's hours; but they furnish no difficulty. I mention them with the determining references: Prime or 6 o'clock (*Chroniques*, I, LXXXVII; I, CCII); Tiers or 9 o'clock (*Chron.*, I, XL, et le quart jour jusques à heure de tierce; I, LVII; I, CCLXX); Midi or Midday (I, CCLXXXI, Jusques à heure de midi); Grand Midi or Fully (Lat. plena) 12 o'clock (I, XCIII, jusques à grand midi; cf. Chaucer's "Prime large," Brae's essay); Petite Nonne immediately follows Grand Midi (I, XCIII); Haute Nonne or L'heure de Nonne, 2–3 o'clock (I, CLXXV,

vesperae vero representant undecimam; V, III, 139, item in vespera, quia tunc incipit dies finire."[1]

Many examples of the use of Æfen present themselves: *Benedictine Rule*, Gloss, XV, 45, 17, æftersang (mistake for æfensang) = vespera; XVI, 46, 14 XVIII, 50, 5, æfensanc = vespera; XVII, 47, 15, æfentidsanc = vespertina synaxis; XVIII, 50, 18, sealmsanga æfensanga = psalmorum vespertinorum; XLI, 73, 5, to æfenne = ad seram; compare XXIV, 56, 14; XLI, 74, 1 (twice); XLII, 74, 6; XLVIII, 82, 2; Id., Translation, XIII, 38, 15, æfensang = vespertina; XVII, 41, 19, þæs æfensanges lof = vespertina synaxis; XVIII, 43, 7, se æfensang = vespera; XVIII, 43, 18, "Winteney," 57, 19, to þam æfendreame = in vespera (cf. Grein, *Sprachschatz*, s. v. "dream"); XXIV, 49, 8, on æfen; XXXIX, 63, 16–17, to þam æfengifle = cenaturi; *Concordia*, 488, 500, 534, 592, 662, 675,

La commenca grand assaut qui dura jusques à haute nonne (jusques après midi); environ heure de nonne; I, XXXIX, entour heure de nonne; I, CCCVI, et commenca la bataille (a long battle) environ heure de tierce et dura jusques à haute nonne; III, LVIII, à un heure après nonne); Basses Vespres or Before Vespers; Vespers or Evening (I, XXXV; I, XXXIX, à basses vespres; I, XLIX, sur l'heure de souper; I, CCXXXI, jusques aux vespres; I, XXXVI, après nonne sur les vespres; I, CCLIX, de vespres jusques à la nuit). Minuit, Point de jour, and Haut jour are mentioned frequently. Buchon (*Chroniques de Froissart*, 1835) puts Nonne at Midday, and Scheler (*Oeuvres de Froissart*, Brussels, 1870–1874, Glossaire, s. v. Nonne) doubts this but leaves the question undecided. As I have shown above the passages themselves settle the matter. In the *Buke of John Mandeville*, Roxburgh Club, 1889, p. 81, where the French text, MS. Harl. 4383, reads, "de tierce du jour jusques à basse none," the English translator (Egerton MS. 1982) gives, "fra undren of þe day to it be passed none;" again, *Id.*, p. 149, "du tierz de jour jusques à noune" is rendered by "fra undrun of þe day til efter noone." The French Haute Nonne is not the original of High Noon (*Holy Rood*, 44, 308). Heah Undern is found in an Anglo-Saxon text (*Ben. Rule*, Transl., XLVIII, 74, 11) as the translation of Tercia Plena; and again, the French hour changed its meaning after the English.

[1] How changed was the meaning of Evening in Shakspere's day, a rather unquotable passage from Romeo and Juliet (II, IV, 98 sq.; cf. Notes, *Variorum Ed.*) proves. To give point to Mercutio's waggery, Evening must begin at noon-tide. As the *Century Dictionary* has shown, Evening retains this meaning until to-day in England and the Southern United States.

930, 1017, æfen = vespera; 388, 450, 711, 964, æfensanc = vespera; 1035, æfenlof = laus vespertinalis; 400, 405, 723, 828 (MS., æfterræding), æfenræding = collatio.

This hour of the day appears frequently in non-canonical usage: Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, I, XVIII, 92, 13; III, I, 156, 25; IV, III, 270, 35; IV, XXV, 346, 28; V, XXII, 476, 9, on æfenne; I, XVI, 84, 27, ær æfenne; III, VIII, 180, 21, in æfentiid; IV, XXV, 346, 28, on æfenne þære neahte; V, VI, 402, 2, oð æfen .... ða hit æfen wæs; I, I, 26, 2, swa þæt oft on middre nihte geflit cymeð þam behealdendum, hwæðer hit si þe æfenglommung ðe on morgen deagung = Giles, I, I, Vol. II, 30, 29, utrum crepusculum adhuc permaneat vespertinum an jam advenerit matutinum (cf. Guthlac, 1265, fram æfenglome); *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, D. E. F., 979, on æfentide; E. 1106, 1110, on æfen; E. 1106, ælce æfen .... sumne æfen; E. 1118, ænes æfenes; "Confessionale Ecgberti," XXX, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 355, to æfenes; *Epistola Alexandri*, Baskerville, *Anglia*, IV, l. 294, an tid to æfenes; 523, on æfen; 534–5, mid þy hit æfenne neahlehte; 537, on þone æfen; *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Matt., VIII, 16, þa hit æfen wæs = vespere autem facto; Matt., XIV, 15, þa hit wæs æfen = vespere autem facto; Matt., XVI, 2; Mark, XIII, 35, on æfen; Mark, XXV, 20, on þam æfenne; XXVIII, 1, þam reste dæges æfenne; Mark, IV, 35, þonne æfen bið; XV, 42, ða æfen wæs geworden; Luke, XXIV, 29, æfenlæcð = advesperascit; *Old Testament*, Gen., I, 5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31, and wæs geworden æfen and mergen; Ex., XII, 6; XII, 18 (twice); XVI, 13; XXIX, 38, 41; Deut., XXVIII, 67, on æfen; Gen., XIX, 1; Joshua, II, 5, on æfnunge; Ex., XVI, 12, to æfen; Deut., XXVIII, 67, æfenes; *Blickling Homilies*, 241, 27; 47, 18; 93, 3; 91, 34, æfen; 245, 10, on æfenne; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 216, 25–26, ær æfenne; I, 452; II, 242, 22; II, 334, 34; II, 348, 18; II, 266, on æfnunge; II, 350, 4, on þam æfenne; II, 370, 1, þisne æfen (Eve of Festival); Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, III, 259; XXIII, 440, 472, on æfen; III, 583, oð æfen; XI, 43, 153, on æfnunge; XIX, 87, oð æfnunge; XV, 58, on

æfentiman; XIII, 27, oð þæt hit æfnode; XXIII, 245, mid þe þe hit æfnian wolde and seo sunne sah to setle; XXIII, 449, to æfen; XXIII, 533, gyrstan æfen; Assmann, *Pseudo Matthaei Evangelium* (Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, III, p. 123), Chap. X, l. 225, oð ðæt æfen wæs; III, 196; XVIII, 24–25, ænes æfenes; Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XXX (26), p. 151, 16, forðam we us nyton witoð lif æt æfen, ne we nyton þonne we to ure reste goð hwæðer we moton eft dæges gebidan; *Leechdoms*, I, 256; II, 356; II, 28, 5, on æfen; I, 386, ælce æfen; II, 190, 3, æfter æfen geweorc; II, 190, 18, þonne he slapan wille on æfen; II, 26, 22, on æfenne; III, 106, 10, twegen sticcan fulle a æfen, twegen a morgen (à æsnung, Schröer, *Ben. Reg.*, 80, 5, should be read à æfnunge); III, 188, 22 [oð] æfen; III, 196, 17, oð æfen.

The reasons for observing Evensong are many, we are informed by the *Benedictine Service*, Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CXC, CCXVIII:

"On æfen we sculon God herian. On þone timan man offrode on þære ealdan æ and mid recelsreocan on þam temple þæt weofod georne weorðode Gode to lofe, and on æfen-timan ure dryhten offrode æt his æfengereorde, and dælde his discipulum, þurh halig geryne, hlaf and win for his sylfes lichaman and for his agen blod. And on æfen-timan hit wæs þæt Joseph Cristes lichaman of rode alinode.

In the Evening the moon was created, and ever since in the Evening renews its age (Bede,[2] *Leechdoms*, III, 264, 25; Byrhtferð, 75, *Anglia*, VIII, 309, 15). For example of Æfen and its compounds in Anglo-Saxon Poetry, compare Grein, *Sprachschatz*, and Bosworth Toller.

Æfen as a Meal-time.

The Glosses give good evidence that the third meal-time of the Anglo-Saxons was the 11th hour: Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 147, 29, æfengereord = cena; 281, 31, æfenmete = cena; *Benedictine Rule*, Gloss, XXXIX, 71, 1, æfen-

þenunge = cenae; 71, 3, on æfenþenungum = coenaturis; XLI, 74, 4, æfenþenunge = cene (distinction made between Cena and Refectio); XLII, 74, 10, fram æfenþenunge = a cena; Id., Translation, XLI, 66, 7, æt þam gereorde; XLII, 66, 15, seo tid æfengereordes = tempus cenae; XXXIX, 63, 16–17, to þam æfengifle = cenaturis; *Concordia*, 1030, æfengereord = cenaturi (?); 1034, æfengereord = cena; 1030, æfenþenung = cena = vesperum officium (823).

Wright in *Homes of Other Days*, 34, regards the time of the evening-meal as uncertain. *Benedictine Rule*, Chap. XLI, however, declares that it must end before dark, and very much the same rule was enjoined by the *Concordia* (cf. Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 30). The supper-hour of the laity was doubtless at the same hour.

Other texts mention this meal: Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, III, VIII, 184, 23, æfter his æfengereorde; *Pastoral Care*, XLIV, 322, 19, underngiefl oþþe æfengiefl = prandium aut coenam (*supra* sub Undern); *Blickling Homilies*, 67, 26; 99, 22, æfengereordu; 73, 5; 142, 6, æt þæm æfengereordum (N. H. G. abendmahl).

In the early illuminated MSS. dinner scenes are not uncommon. Ælfric's Version of Genesis, MS. Cotton Claudius, B. IV, fol. 36 (Wright's *Homes*, 34, Cut 14), represents Abraham's feast on the birth of his child. MS. Cotton Cleopatra, C. VIII, fol. 15 (Id., 36, Cut 16), pictures "Psychomachia prudentius;" underneath the cut is written, "seo Galnes to hire æfengereordum sitt." Compare MS. Cott. Tiberius, C. IV, fol. 5 (Id., 35, Cut 15).

In strict fasts only one meal a day was eaten; compare *Lives of the Saints*, XX, 41:

> "Be hire (St. Æthelthrytha) is awryten þæt heo wel drohtnode
> To anum mæle fæstnende butan hit freolsdæg wære."

Not only the examples of Saints but ecclesiastical institutes limited good churchmen to a single repast on fast-days; and this repast was at Vesper-tide, *Eccl. Inst.*, XXXVIII, Thorpe,

A. L., 486: Ðæt lengten fæsten man sceal mid swiþe healicre gymene healdan swa þæt þær nan dæg ne sy butan sunnandagum anum þæt ænig man æniges metes bruce ær þære teoðan tide oððe þære twelfte." Compare *Eccl. Inst.*, XXXIX–XL, *A. L.*, 486 (Sub None).

Compline.

The numerous examples of the word in the *Century* and the *Oxford* Dictionaries place beyond question the time of the last service of the day. That Compline fell an hour after Evensong in the 13th Century we know from the testimony of Durand (*Rationale*, 164, v, x, 12): "Restat ultima hora ad quam pertinet completorium quod notat hymnus." Three centuries before this the "ultima hora canonica" of *Concordia*, 413, had been translated "on ytemystre tide riht gesetre."

The canonical texts all agree in their rendering of Completorium: *Benedictine Rule*, Gloss, XVI, 46, 6, nihtsanges = completoriique; XVII, 48, 15, nihtsang = completorium; XLII, 67, 9, nihtsang singan (compleant); XVIII, 44, 5; XLII, 67, 11, nihtsanc = completorium; *Concordia*, 407, 408, 409, 440, 448, 662, 677, 828, 865, 925, 986, 1024, completorium = nihtsang. Wright-Wülker, 207, 44, completorium = gefylling-tide should be compared with *Ben. Rule*, Gloss, XLII, 75, 5, compleant = gefyllan.

Completorium had, however, other Anglo-Saxon equivalents: Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, II, IX, 126, 31, þa eode he to his inne þær he hine restan wolde—wæs foreweard niht; V, XIII, 422, 28, In forewearde neaht; Ælfric, *Homilies*, II, 184, 26, oð forð nihtes; *Leechdoms*, I, 88, On forannihte; *Blickling Homilies*, 47, 19, completorium = sixtan siþe on niht ær he ræste; *Benedictine Service*, Bouterwek, CCXVIII, forannihtsang = completorium; compare XVI, 46, 14; XVIII, 51, 2; XLII, 75, 6; Id., Translation, XVII, 41, 14, nihtsang, de completorio: "On foranniht we sculon God herian ær we to bedde gan and gemunan þæt Crist on byrgene neah forannihte bebyrged weard" (cf. Mark, XV, 42, "et jam sero facto, etc." In Wright-Wülker,

175, sero = bed-tid). When the young monk is asked (Wright-Wülker, 102), "hwænne wylle ge syngan æfen oððe nihtsang (completorium)?" he does not help us much by his answer, "þonne hit tyma bið."

The examples in the last paragraph indicate that the Anglo-Saxons retired at Completorium. That this was the procedure of the monks, *Ben. Rule*, XLII, indicates. Bouterwek, in his note on the word (*Cædmon*, CXCIII), shows that Compline was said in the dormitory and cites *Chrodegang's Rule*, XXIII, to prove that after it the greatest silence was to be observed. In the full description of the service, in the *Concordia*, we have further evidence that the friars sang the Compline before dark, and went early to their beds.

Conticinium and Intempesta Nox.

Although Conticinium and Intempesta Nox are not Canonical Hours, no study of the Anglo-Saxon Day can be complete without an understanding of their position and meaning.

Conticinium held a definite position as one of the divisions of the night. It is the time of the first Hancred (*supra* s. v.), the hour, "þonne ealle þing sweowiað on hyra reste" (Bede,[2] *Leechdoms*, III, 240), and the period of the "first sleep:" *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1131, æt þe forme slæp; *Daniel*, 108, on frumslæpe; compare Du Cange, *Glossarium* and Godefroy s. v. Primsomne.[1]

Conticinium falls near the times mentioned in the *Epistola Alexandri* (Baskerville): l. 312, Ða wæs seo þridde tid þære nihte þa wolde we us gerestan; 333, þa hit wæs seo fifte tid þære niht þa mynton we us gerestan.

The glosses furnish us with translations of Conticinium:

Wright-Wülker, 117, 9, Conticinium = { Cwyltid / or / Gebedgiht.

[1] This recalls Shelley's, "the first sweet sleep of night" (Lines to an Indian Air).

Wright-Wülker, 211, 41, Conticinium = Cwyldtid vel Swegnes.

Mone B. (*Q. F.*) 3747, Conticinium = Cwylseten.
" " " 3748, Conticinio = Cwylsetene.
" " " 4677, Galli Cantu = Cwyldsetene.

New Aldhelm Glosses (Logeman, *Anglia*, XIII, 35), 205 } Conticinio = Cwyldsene (cf. Note).

Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* (Stallybrass), II, 739 notes: "Old Norse and Anglo-Saxon distinguish between two periods of the evening, an earlier, 'aptan,' 'æfen,' 'vespera' and a later, 'queld,' 'cwild,' 'conticinium.'" Grimm derives "cwild" from "cwellan" and explains it rightly by the falling or felling of the day or still better by a deadlike hush of night. His translation of "cwildrofu eodon on laðra last" (*Cædmon*, l. 151) by "(belluae) vesperi famosae ibant in vestigia malorum" seems however a little forced.

The best definition or translation of the word is in the words of Byrhtferð, 124, *Anglia*, VIII, 319: "Conticinium ys switima oððe salnyssa timan" (*supra*).

Bede,[2] Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 240, puts Intempesta Nox as the fourth division of the night; it is glossed by Midniht, Wright-Wülker, 175, and Byrhtferð, 124, *Anglia*, VIII, 319, calls it "unworclic tima." It might also be characterized by an expression found in Bede's *Eccl. Hist.*, II, VI, 114, 16, þære deahlan neahte = secretae noctis. The period is well described by Bede, *De Orthographia* (Giles, VI, 17): "Intempesta nox est media nox, quando quiescendum hinc utique dicta quia inopportuna est actioni vigilantium."

Midnight holds an interesting place in Anglo-Saxon creeds; compare Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 307, 10:

"Eac he cwæð þæt middaneard wære gesceapen on middere niht, þæt he eft sceal beon on middere niht toworpen and we gelyfað þæt hit swa mæg beon forðam cwyde þe god ælmihtig cwæð on middere niht wæs mycel hream geworden. Nu cymð se brydguma, þæt ys Crist, to dome."

I give a few examples of the word in the prose texts: Bede's *Eccl. Hist.*, II, IX, 128, 15, on midre niht (Giles, II, 224, 10, intempestae noctis silentio); III, I, 156, 30, æt middre neahte; IV, X, 286, 12, on midde neaht; IV, XXV, 346, 34, ofer midde neahte; *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Matt., XXV, 6, to middere niht; Mark, XIII, 35, on midre nihte; *Old Testament*, Ex. XI, 4, to middre nihte = media nocte; Ex. XII, 29, to middre nihte = in noctis medio; Judges, XVI, 3, to midre nihte = ad medium noctis; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 226, 28; II, 568, 3, 16, 17, 20, on midre niht; I, 246, 33; II, 518, 24, on middere niht; II, 336, 2, on þære þriddan nihte middan; *Lives of the Saints*, V, 469; XI, 120; XV, 60, on middere niht; VIII, 131, on middre niht; XI, 44, oð midde niht.[1]

CHAPTER II.

THE RUBRICS TO THE ANGLO-SAXON GOSPELS.

þa þe se hring ealles geares in weorðunge symbeldaga abædde eac swilce stafum awrat and on bec gesette (Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, IV, XX, 314, 22).

As I have already said in my general introduction, my aim in this chapter is to present in Calendar form the Rubrics of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, and to trace, by a comparative study of other liturgies, the connection between text and date from the early days of the Church until our own time.

The study is so attractive that I feared anticipation from the "inevitable German;" and my apprehensions were in part

[1] The other hours have been mentioned for the most part in connection with the Hours of the Canons; yet a few occurrences remain to be noted: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, D. E. 800, on þære oðre tid on niht; F. 809, on angynne ðare fifte tide ðas dagas; A. B. D. 879, C. 880, ane tid dæges; *Eccl. Hist.*, III, XIX, 240, 22, ymb þa teogðan tid dæges (Giles, II, 380, 13, hora circiter decima diei; G. translates wrongly, "about 10 o'clock in the morning"); IV, XXXIII, 382, 34, seo aftere tid dæges; *Epistola Alexandri*, Baskerville, 223, 269, seo eahtoðe tid dæges; 253, 254, 488, 489, sio endlefte tid dæges.

realized. In this case, however, the disturber of hopes was a scholar of the first half of the last century. When my work was in its present form, I discovered that a Calendar of Rubrics had been made with admirable correctness by Schilter (*Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum*, Ulmae, 1728, Vol. I, Part II, 63–69) from Marshall's Edition of the Gospels. As his work is accessible only to a few, and as his Tables do not trace the history of the Rubrics, the value of an independent tabulation is, however, not diminished.

Hampson has printed (*Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, I) a number of Anglo-Saxon Calendars and has discussed them at length, while Piper (*Kalendarien*; see Bibliography) has studied the same subject most carefully. Marshall in his Notes to the Rubrics (*Gospels*, 1684, pp. 508–538) and Bouterwek in *Calendewide* (Bibliography) have collected much valuable material. In my Notes I have gathered a few "screadunga," hitherto overlooked. Of these crumbs I need say no more, as the work of the annotator is explanatory of itself.

To speak now of details. The Rubrics are contained in the Cambridge MS., Ii 2, 11, of the Gospels (A), which Skeat (Preface to Mark, VII) assigns to the locality of Exeter and dates about 1050 A. D. Into an older MS. (B) the Bodley NE. F., 3, 15 (now Bodley 441), a number of the A. Rubrics were inserted during the time of Archbishop Parker (Skeat, l. c.). A few both of A. and of B. Rubrics were omitted by Marshall—although he used both MSS.—and, therefore, have no place in Schilter's Calendar. The tables of lessons in the Lindisfarne MS. (Nero D. 4)—i. e., the prefatory Capitula—are "left obscure owing to the lack of prefixed numbers" (Skeat); text and date are never connected. These have been drawn upon in my Notes, when they can furnish help. Bouterwek printed this material in his *Screadunga* (1858), 1–4.

Now, the key to the information furnished by my Tables. I explain first the abbreviations: C. = Liber Comitis of St. Jerome (Hieronymus), 420 A. D. (M. *P. L.*, 30, 503–

548);[1] G. = Homilies of Gregory, 590 A. D. (M. *P. L.*, 76); B. = Homilies of Bede (Giles, *Works of Bede*, Vol. v); A. = Homilies of Ælfric (Thorpe, 2 vols.); Bl. Hom. = Blickling Homilies (Morris); K. = Old Kentish Sermons (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 49 (1872), 26 ff.); W. = Sermons of Wycliffe (Thomas Arnold, Oxford, 1869, 3 vols.); O. G. = Old German Sermons (Wackernagel, Basel, 1876); S. Y. H. = Salisbury, York, and Hereford Usage (*Sarum Missal in English*, London, 1868, Appendix B, p. 605, cited Blunt, *Annotated Prayer Book*); P. E. = Protestant Episcopal; R. = Roman; E. = Eastern; L. = Lutheran. The numbers to the right of G, B, O. G, W, above the line, indicate the number of the Homily or Sermon; A. and Bl. Hom. are cited usually by number of Homily, sometimes by page; in other cases the dates furnish sufficient reference.

When no text follows the letters cited, let it be understood that the text is that of the Anglo-Saxon Rubric. For the sake of clearness I explain in full two of the dates. Under January 1 the letters C; B[22]; A., I, VI; etc., show that the text for New Year's Day in all of those liturgies is that of our Anglo-Saxon Rubric, Luke, II, 21; here the Luke, II, 15–21 of the P. E. service, as indicated in the Table, proves an exception. Again, under February 11, all liturgies have for Quadragesima Sunday the text of the Anglo-Saxon Halgan Dæg, Matt., IV, 1. A slight lack of correspondence is often indicated in the Table.

It will thus be seen that my purpose is a far-reaching one: to show, by clear tabulation, the vitality of the Evangelarium, and the persistence of many of the earliest of Church lessons; to explain how, after centuries of life, certain Gospels disappeared from the services of Feast and Fast; and finally to give the proper historical value to Anglo-Saxon Rubric and to Modern text. If my statistics succeed in this, they will

[1] This is very important, as it contains the first arrangement of Gospels; but it is hard to compare, as it reckons by fixed fasts, particularly after June 29th.

seem to me an Ἰχθύς, full of a suggestiveness far transcending its literal meaning.

Rubrics to the Anglo-Saxon Gospels.[1]

Dec. 24.—Midwinter Mass-even, Matt., I, 18. C; B[50]; W[89]; E (Christmas Day).

Dec. 25.—Midwinter Mass-night for the first Mass, Luke, II, 1. C; G[8]; B[44], In Galli Cantu Nat. Dom; B[45], In Aurora, Luke, II, 15; B[46], Ad summam missam, John, I, 21; A., I, II; W[90]; R, Midnight; L.

Dec. 26.—St. Stephen's Mass-day, Matt., XXIII, 34. C; W[91]; P. E; R.

Dec. 27.—St. John the Evangelist's Mass-day, John, XXI, 19. C; B[35]; W[92], John, XXI, 15; E; P. E; R.

Dec. 28.—Cilda Mæsse-dæg, Matt., II, 13. C; B[36]; A., I, V, Matt., II, 1–15; E; P. E; R.

Dec. 31.—Mass-day of St. Sylvester and other Confessors, Matt., XXV, 14. C; G[9], Matt., XXV, 14–30.

Dec. 31.—Sunday between Midwinter's Mass-day and 12th Day, Luke, II, 33. W[94], 6th day after Christmas; R; L.

Jan. 1.—8th Mass-day to Midwinter, Luke, II, 21. C; B[22]; A., I, VI; W[95], New Year's Day; E; R; P. E, Luke, II, 15–21; L.

Jan. 5.—12th Even, Matt., II, 19. C; W[46], Vigil of Epiphany.

Jan. 6.—12th Day, Matt., II, 1. C; G[10]; B[37] (John, I, 29; Matt., III, 13; Mark, I, 9; Luke, III, 21); A., I, VII; K; W[97]; O. G[xv]; P. E; R; L;

Jan. 10.—Wednesday after 12th Day, Matt., III, 13. S. and H, Octave of Epiphany.

Jan. 12.—Friday after 12th Day, Matt., IV, 12. Y; H.

Jan. 12.—Friday, 1st Week after Epiphania Domini, John, VI, 27.

[1] Easter has been placed at March 25.

Jan. 13.—Ðys gebyraþ on þone VIII dæg Godes Ætywednysse, John, I, 29. C; B[23] (John, I, 29; Matt., III, 13; Mark, I, 9; Luke, III, 21); W[30], Sunday in Octaves of Epiphany.

Jan. 14.—Sunday, 2nd Week after Epiphany, John, II, 1. C; B[15]; A., II, IV; K; W[33]; P. E; R; L.

Jan. 21.—3rd Sunday after Epiphany, Matt., VII, 28. C, A., I, VIII, W[34], K, P. E, R, and L = Matt., VIII.

Jan. 21.—St. Agnes's Mass, Matt., XIII, 44. G[11-12], Matt., XIII, 41–52, XXV, 1.

Jan. 21.—Ðys sceal on þone Sunnandæg þe man belycð Alleluia, Matt., XX, 1. Septuagesima Sunday, C; G[19]; A., II, V; W[37]; P. E; R; L.

Jan. 26.—Friday, 3rd Week after 12th Day, Matt., IV, 23. W[137]; S, 3rd Friday after Oct. Ep.

Jan. 28.—4th Sunday after 12th Day, Matt., VIII, 23. C; W[35]; K; P. E; R; L.

Jan. 28.—Ðis sceal on þære wucan æfter þam þe man belycð Alleluia, Mark, IV, 3. C; A., II, VI. G[15], W[38], P. E, R and L, Luke, VIII, 4. All, Sexagesima Sunday.

Jan. 31.—Wednesday, 4th Week after 12th Day, Matt., VIII, 19. W[138] and S, Luke, IX, 57.

Feb. 2.—After the days of "Purgatio Mariae" are complete, Luke, II, 22. C; A., I, IX; B[24]; W[39], Candlemasday; E; P. E; R.

Feb. 4.—Sunnandæg ær Halgan Dæge, Mark, X, 46. A., I, X, Mark, X, 46. C, G, Bl. Hom, 15, W[39], P. E, R, and L = Luke, XVIII, 31–44. All, Quinquagesima Sunday.

Feb. 7.—To "Caput Jejunii" on Wednesday, Matt., VI, 16. C; W[145]; P. E; R; L.

Feb. 9.—Friday in "Cys-wucan," Matt., V, 43. C and W[46], Friday in Quinquagesima.

Feb. 10.—Saturday before "Halgan Dæg," Mark, VI, 45. C, Mark, VI, 47; W[147].

Feb. 11.—Halgan Dæg, Matt., IV, 1. Quadragesimia Sunday, C; G[16]; A., I, XV; Bl. Hom, 27; W[40]; P. E; R; L.

Feb. 12.—Monandæg on forman fæstendæg, Matt., XXV, 31. C; W[148]; B[53], John, II, 12.

Feb. 14.—Wednesday, 1st Lenten Week, Matt., XII, 38. C; W[150].

Feb. 15.—1st Thursday in Lent, Matt., XV, 21.

Feb. 16.—Friday, 1st Lenten Week, John, V, 1. C; B[54]; W[152].

Feb. 17.—Saturday, 1st Lenten Week, Matt., XVI, 28. C, Matt., XVII, 1; W[153], Matt., XVI, 1.

Feb. 17.—Sæterndæg on þære forman fæsten wucan, Mark, IX, 2.

Feb. 19.—Monday, 2nd Lenten Week, John, VIII, 21. C; W[154].

Feb. 21.—Wednesday, 2nd Lenten Week, Matt., XX, 17. W[156].

Feb. 22.—Thursday, 2nd Lenten Week, John, V, 30. C; W[157].

Feb. 23.—Friday, 2nd Lenten Week, Matt., XXI, 33. C; W[158].

Feb. 24.—Saturday, 2nd Lenten Week, Luke, XV, 11. C; W[159].

Feb. 25.—3rd Sunday in Lent, Luke, XI, 14; Matt., XII, 22. C, W[42], P. E, R, L = Luke, XI, 14; B[19] (Luke, XI, 14; Matt., IX, 32; Mark, III, 22); B[52], John, VIII, 1.

Feb. 27.—Tuesday, 3rd Lenten Week, Matt., XVIII, 15. W[161].

Feb. 28.—3rd Wednesday in Lent, Matt., XV, 1. C; W[162].

Feb. 28.—Wednesday, 3rd Lenten Week, Mark, VII, 1.

Mar. 1.—3rd Thursday in Lent (and to Pentecost on Saturday), Luke, IV, 38. C and W[163], John, VI, 27.

Mar. 2.—Friday, 3rd Lenten Week, John, IV, 6. C, John, IV, 6; W[164], John, IV, 4.

Mar. 3.—One day before Myd-fæsten, John, VIII, 1. W[165].

Mar. 4.—Mid-lenten Sunday, John, VI, 1. C; B[20]; A., I, XII; W[43]; P. E; R; L.

Mar. 5.—Monday, 4th Lenten Week, John, II, 12. C; W[166].

Mar. 6.—Tuesday, Mid-lenten Week, John, VII, 14. C; W[167].

Mar. 7.—Wednesday, "Myd-fæstene wucan," John, IX, 1. C; W[168].

Mar. 8.—Thursday, 4th Lenten Week, John, V, 17. C; W[169].

Mar. 9.—Friday, "Myd-fæstene wucan," John, XI, 1. C; W[170].

Mar. 10.—Saturday, "Myd-fæstene wucan," John, VIII, 12. C; W[171].

Mar. 11.—Sunday, 5th Week in Lent, John, VIII, 46. C; G[18], Dominica in Passione; W[44]; P. E; R; L.

Mar. 12.—Monday, 5th Week in Lent, John, VII, 32. C; W[172].

Mar. 12.—St. Gregory's Mass-day, Luke, XIX, 12.

Mar. 13.—Tuesday, 5th Week in Lent, John, VII, 1. C; W[173].

Mar. 14.—Wednesday, 5th Lenten Week and "to Cyric-halgungum," John, X, 22. First date, C, W[174]. Dedicatio Ecclesiae, B[42] (Luke, VI, 42; Matt., VII, 18); W[133], Luke, XIX, 1.

Mar. 15.—Thursday, 5th Lenten Week, John, VII, 40. W[175].

Mar. 16.—Two days before Palm Sunday, John, XI, 47. C; W[176]; Assmann, III, 67.

Mar. 17.—One day before Palm Sunday, John, VI, 53. C; W[177].

Mar. 18.—Palm Sunday, Matt., XXVI, 2. C, Matt., XXVI, 2; W[45], Matt., XXVII, 62; P. E, Matt., XXVII, 1–54; R, Matt., XXVII, XXVIII.

Mar. 18.—(4 weeks before Midwinter) and Palm Sunday, Luke, XIX, 29. A., I, XIV; II, XIV.

Mar. 19.—Monday, Palm Week, John, xii, 1. C; B[48]; W[128], J., xii, 4; S; Y; H; R; L; P. E, Mark, xiv, 1–72.

Mar. 20.—Tuesday, Palm Week, Mark, xv, 1; John, xii, 24. First text, R, P. E; second text, C, L.

Mar. 21.—(St. Paul's Mass-day) and St. Benedict's, Matt., xix, 27. B[25] (Matt., xix, 27; Mark, viii, 27; Luke, ix, 18).

Mar. 21.—Wednesday, Palm Week, Luke, xxii, 1. C; P. E; R; L, Luke, xxii, 1–xxiii, 42.

Mar. 22.—Thursday before Easter, John, xiii, 1. C; B[29], In Cena Domini; Assmann, iii, xiii; O. G[xviii]; R; L; W[179], John, xviii, 1; P. E, Luke, xxiii, 1–49.

Mar. 23.—Ðis Passio gebyraþ on Langa Frige-dæg, John, xviii, 1. C, R, and L = John, xviii, 1–xix, 42; W[180], J., xviii ult. and xix; P. E, John, xix, 1–37.

Mar. 24.—Easter Even, Matt., xxviii, 1. C; B[4] (Matt., xxviii, 1; Luke, xxiv, 1; John, xx, 1); W[181]; R; E; P. E, Matt., xxvii, 57–66.

Mar. 25.—Easter Day, Mark, xv, 47, xvi. C; G[21], Matt., xvi, 1–17; A., i, xy, Matt., xxvi, 62 sq.; W[46], Matt., xxviii, 1; R and L, Mark, xvi, 1–7; P. E, John, xx, 1–10.

Mar. 26.—2nd Easter Day, Luke, xxiv, 13. C; G[22]; A., ii, xvi; W[182]; P. E; R; L.

Mar. 27.—3rd Easter Day, Luke, xxiv, 36. C; P. E; R; B[5] (Luke, xxiv, 36; John, xx, 19).

Mar. 28.—Wednesday, Easter Week, John, xxi, 1. C; G[24]; A., ii, xvii; W[184].

Mar. 29.—Thursday, Easter Week, John, xx, 11. C; G[25]; W[185].

Mar. 30.—Friday, Easter Week, Matt., xxviii, 16. C; B[6]; W[186].

Mar. 31.—Saturday, Easter Week, John, xx, 1. G[23]; W[187].

April 1.—Seven nights after Easter, John, xx, 19. C, Saturday, Easter Week; G[26], In Octavis Paschae; A., I, xvi; W[47]; P. E; R; L.

April 4.—Wednesday, 2nd Easter Week, Matt., ix, 14; Matt., xxviii, 8. First text, W[191]; second text, C, S, Y, H.

April 8.—Sunday, two weeks after Easter, John, xvi, 16. C, Dom. ii post Oct. Pas.; B[1].

April 8.—Sunday, fourteen nights after (uppan) Easter, John, x, 11. C; G[14], John, x, 11–16; A., I, xvii; W[48]; P. E; R; L.

April 18.—Wednesday, 3rd week after Easter, John, iii, 25.

April 22.—Sunday, 4th week after Easter, John, xvi, 5. C, Dom. iii post Oct. Pasch.; B[2], 3rd Sunday after Easter; W[50]; P. E; R; L.

April 22.—4th Sunday after Easter, John, xvi, 23. B[3]; W[51], P. E, R, and L = 5th Sunday after Easter.

April 25.—Wednesday, 4th week after Easter, John, xvii, 11. W[194]; S; Y; H.

April 27.—Friday, 4th week after Easter, John, xiii, 33. S; Y; H.

April 28.—Mass of St. Vitalis, John, xv, 1.

May 1.—Mass of Philip and James, John, xiv, 1. A., ii, xiii (no part Gospel); W[103]; P. E; R.

April 30–May 2.—To Gangdagon, Matt., vii, 7.

April 30–May 1.—To Gangdagon þæge twegen dagas, Luke, xi, 5. B[7], In Letania Majore et Minore (Luke, xi, 5; Matt., vii); B[56], In Let. Maj., Luke, xi, 9; A., I, xix, Tuesday, Let. Maj., Luke, xi, 2; compare A., ii, xxi, xxii, xxiii, no text; S.

May 2.—On Wodnesdæg on þære Gang-wucan to þam vigilian, John, xvii, 1. C; A., ii, xxv; W[197].

May 3.—Thursday within Gang-week, Mark, xvi, 14. C; G[29], In Ascensio Domini; B[57], Luke, xxiv, 44; O. G[LXV], John, iii, 16; W[104]; P. E; R; L.

May 6.—Sunday after "Ascensio Domini," John, xv, 26. C; W[82]; P. E; R; L.

May 9.—Wednesday after "Ascensio Domini," John, xv, 7.

May 12.—Pentecost Mass-even, John, xiv, 15. C; B[9], In festo S. Pent.; P. E, Whit-sunday, John, xiv, 15–31; W[199], Vigil of Whit-sunday.

May 13.—Pentecost Mass-day, John, xiv, 23. C; G[20]; W[83]; R; L.

May 14.—2nd Mass-day in Pentecost, John, iii, 16. C; W[200]; P. E; R.

May 15.—Tuesday, Pentecost Week, John, x, 1. C; W[201]; P. E; R.

May 16.—Wednesday, Pentecost Week "to þam ymbrene," Luke, ix, 12; John, vi, 44. Second text, C, W[202].

May 17.—Thursday, Pentecost Week, Luke, ix, 1. C; W[203].

May 18.—Friday, Pentecost Week, Luke, v, 17. C; W[204].

May 18.—Friday, Pentecost Week "to þam ymbrene," Luke, xviii, 40.

May 19.—Saturday, Pentecost Week "to þam ymbrene," Matt., xx, 19.

May 19.—(3rd Thursday in Lent) and to Pentecost on Saturday, Luke, iv, 38. C and W[205], Trinity Eve.

May 20.—(Over Easter "be þære rode") and 1st Sunday after Pentecost, John, iii, 1. C; W[84]; P. E; L; R, Matt., xxviii, 18; all but C, Trinity Sunday.

May 23.—Wednesday after Pentecost, Luke, xx, 27.

May 25.—Friday after Pentecost, Luke, xii, 11. C.

May 27.—2nd Sunday after Pentecost, Luke, xvi, 19. G[40]; C; A., i, xxiii; W[1]; P. E; L; G[36] and R, Luke, xiv, 16–24.

May 30.—2nd Wednesday after Pentecost, Matt., v, 17. C; W[207], 1st Wednesday after Corpus Christi; S, Y and H, Wednesday after Trinity.

June 1.—2nd Friday after Pentecost, Luke, xvii, 1. Y.

June 3.—3rd Sunday after Pentecost, Luke, xiv, 16. G[34] and R, Luke, xv, 1–10; A., ii, xxvi; W[2]; P. E; L.

June 6.—Wednesday, 3rd Week after Pentecost, Matt., v, 25. W[209], 3rd Wednesday after Corpus Christi.

June 10.—4th Sunday after Pentecost, Matt., v, 20; VII, 1; Luke, XV, 1. C; A., I, XXIV; W[8]; P. E; R; L. All, Luke, XV, 1.

June 15.—4th Friday after Pentecost, Mark, XI, 11. Y.

June 17.—5th Sunday after Pentecost, Luke, XVI, 36. C; W[4]; P. E; L; A., II, XXIX, Luke, VIII, 1; R, Matt., V, 20.

June 20.—Wednesday, 5th Week after Pentecost, Matt., XXI, 23. W[211], 5th Wednesday after Trinity, Luke, VIII, 22.

June 22.—Friday, 5th Week after Pentecost, Matt., XVII, 10. S, 4th Wednesday after Trinity.

June 23.—Midsummer Mass-even, Luke, I, 1. C, Vigil of St. John Baptist, Luke, I, 5; B[39], W[105], Bl. Hom., XIV, A., I, XXV = Nativity of St. John Baptist.

June 24.—Midsummer Mass-day, Luke, I, 57. C, VIII Kal. Jul; B[29] (Matt., XIV, 1; Mark, XVI, 14; Luke, IX, 7); B[32]; W[106]; E; P. E; R.

June 24.—6th Sunday after Pentecost, Luke, V, 1. C; B[10]; W[5]; P. E; L; R, Mark, VIII, 1.

June 27.—Wednesday, 6th Week after Pentecost, Matt., XI, 25. W[212], Mark, X, 17.

June 29.—Friday, 6th Week after Pentecost, Matt., X, 13.

June 28.—St. Peter's Mass-even, John, XXI, 15. C, B[26], and W[107], Vigils of Peter and Paul.

June 29.—St. Peter's Mass-day, Mark, VIII, 27; Matt., XVI, 13. C, A., I, XXVI, E, P. E, and R, Matt., XVI, 13; B[27] (Matt., XVI, 13; Mark, VIII, 27; Luke, IX, 8).

June 30 (29).—St. Paul's Mass-day (and St. Benedict's), Matt., XIX, 27. A., I, XXVII.

July 1.—7th Week after Pentecost, Matt., V, 20. W[6]; P. E; R, Matt., VII, 15.

July 4.—Wednesday, 7th Week after Pentecost, Mark, x, 17. S; Y; H; W[215], Matt., xii.

July 6.—Friday, 7th Week after Pentecost, Mark, v, 1. Y; H.

July 6.—In Octavas Petri et Pauli, Matt., xiv, 22. W[110].

July 8.—8th Week after Pentecost, Matt., xv, 32; Mark, viii, 1. Both texts, B[11]; second text, W[7], P. E, and L.

July 11.—Wednesday, 8th Week after Pentecost, Matt., xvi, 1. Y, 7th Wednesday after Trinity.

July 13.—Friday, 8th Week after Pentecost, Matt., xii, 1. Y; H.

July 15.—9th Week after Pentecost, Matt., vii, 15. A., ii, xxx; W[8]; P. E; L.

July 18.—Wednesday, 9th Week after Pentecost, Mark, ix, 38. S; Y; H; W[214], 8th Wednesday after Trinity.

July 20.—Friday, 9th Week after Pentecost, Matt., xxiii, 13. Y; H.

July 22.—10th Week after Pentecost, Luke, xvi, 10. W[215], S, Y, and H, 9th Wednesday after Trinity.

July 27.—Friday, 10th Week after Pentecost, Luke, xi, 37.

July 29.—11th Week after Pentecost, Luke, xviii, 10; xix, 41. First text, O. G[xxxviii]; second text, A., i, xxviii, W[10], P. E, and L; R, Mark, vii, 31.

Aug. 1.—Wednesday, 11th Week after Pentecost, Luke, xxi, 20. Y; H.

Aug. 3.—Friday, 11th Week after Pentecost, Luke, xxi, 34. Y; H.

Aug. 8.—Wednesday, 12th Week after Pentecost, Matt., xii, 30. H.

Aug. 10.—Friday, 12th Week after Pentecost, Mark, xii, 28.

Aug. 10.—St. Lawrence's Massday, Matt., xvi, 24.

Aug. 12.—13th Week after Pentecost, Mark, vii, 31. C, 2nd Sunday after St. Lawrence; B[26]; W[12]; P. E; L; R, Luke, xvii, 11.

Aug. 15.—Assumption of Virgin Mary (and Saturdays "be Maria"), Luke, x, 38. C; A., II, XXXIV; W[114]; O. G.[VIII]; R.

Aug. 19.—14th Week after Pentecost, Luke, x, 23. C, 3rd Sunday after St. Lawrence; O. G.[XIX]; W[12]; P. E; L; B[13], Matt., XV; R, Matt., VI, 24–33.

Aug. 22.—Wednesday, 14th Week after Pentecost, Matt., XII, 14. W[218], 13th Wednesday after Trinity; S; Y; H.

Aug. 28.—Mass of St. Augustine and St. Hermes, Luke, XIV, 25.

Aug. 29.—"Innan hærfeste" at St. John's Mass, Mark, VI, 17. W[116], Beheading of St. John Baptist.

Aug. 29.—Wednesday, 15th Week after Pentecost, Mark, I, 40.

Sept. 2.—16th Week after Pentecost, Luke, XVII, 11. A., II, XXXVI.

Sept. 2.—16th Sunday after Pentecost, Matt., VI, 24. W[15]; P. E; L; R, Luke, XIV, 1–11.

Sept. 5.—Wednesday, 16th Week after Pentecost (and Friday in "Cys-wucan"), Matt., V, 31, 43.

Sept. 9.—17th Sunday after Pentecost, Luke, VII, 11. B[14]; A., I, XXXIII; W[16]; P. E; L; R, Matt., XXII, 35.

Sept. 12.—Wednesday at the Fast before Harvest Equinox, Matt., XVII, 14.

Sept. 12.—To the Embers within Harvest on Wednesday, Mark, IX, 17. W[230].

Sept. 14.—To the Embers within Harvest on Friday, Luke, VII, 36. G[33], W[231].

Sept. 15.—To the Embers within Harvest on Saturday, Luke, XIII, 6. G[31]; W[232].

Sept. 20.—St. Matthew's Mass-even, Matt., IX, 9. B[30] (Matt., IX, 9; Mark, II, 14; Luke, V, 27), A., II, XXXVII; W[119], Vigil, Luke, V, 27; W[120], Mass-day; E; P. E; R.

Sept. 23.—19th Week after Pentecost, Luke, XIV, 1. P. E; W[15] and L, Matt., XXII, 34–46; R, Matt., XXII, 1–14.

Sept. 29.—St. Michael's Mass-day, Matt., XVIII, 1. A., I, XXXIV, p. 510; W[121]; P. E; R.

Sept. 30.—Sunday, 20th Week after Pentecost, Matt., IX, 1. W[19]; P. E; L; R, John, IV, 46.

Oct. 7.—After Pentecost on 21st Week on Sunday, John, IV, 46. A., I, XXXV, W[20], P. E, and L, Matt., XXII, 1; R, Matt., XVIII, 23–35.

Oct. 19.—Friday, 22nd Week after Pentecost, Matt., VIII, 14. Y.

Oct. 21.—23rd Week after Pentecost, Matt., XVIII, 23; XXII, 15. W[22], P. E, and L, Matt., XVIII, 23; R, Matt., IX, 18–26.

Nov. 1.—All Saints' Mass, Matt., V, 1. A., I, XXXVI, p. 548; W[123]; P. E; R.

Nov. 4.—Sunday, 25th Week after Pentecost, Matt., IX, 18. W[24]; P. E; L.

Nov. 25.—Four weeks before Midwinter (and Palm Sunday), Luke, XIX, 29.

Nov. 25.—Four weeks before Midwinter, Mark, XI, 1; Matt., XXI, 1. W[26], S, Y, and P. E, 1st Sunday in Advent, Matt., XXI, 1; O. G.[LXIX], R, and L, Luke, XXI, 25.

Nov. 29.—St. Andrew's Mass-even, John, I, 35. W[86], John, I, 29.

Nov. 30.—St. Andrew's Mass-day, Matt., IV, 18. G[5]; A., I, XXXVIII; W[87]; R; P. E; B[34], John, I, 29.

Dec. 5.—Wednesday, 3rd Week before Midwinter, Matt., III, 1. Y and H, Wednesday before Christmas; W[125], 1st Friday in Advent.

Dec. 7.—Three weeks before Midwinter on Friday, John, I, 15. B[49]; S; Y; W[127], 2nd Friday in Advent.

Dec. 16.—Week before Midwinter, Matt., XI, 2. G[6], P. E, and L, 3rd Sunday in Advent.

Dec. 19.—Wednesday to the Embers before Midwinter, Luke, I, 26. W[128], 3rd Wednesday in Advent, Luke, I, 39.

Dec. 21.—Friday to the same Fast, Luke, I, 39.

Dec. 22.—Ðis gebyraþ on Sæterndæg to æwfæstene ær myddan-wintra, Luke, III, 1. G[20], Sabbato Quat. Temp. ante Nat. Christi.

Dec. 23.—Sunday before Midwinter, John, I, 19. C, Week before Nat. Domini; G[7], W[29], P. E, and L, 4th Sunday in Advent; R, Luke, III, 1–6.

General Rubrics.

——. Mass of one Apostle, Luke, X, 1. A., II, XL, no text; Durham Ritual, 81, Vigils, no text.

——. Apostles' Mass-days, John, XV, 12. A., II, XLI, In Natale Plurimorum Apostolorum, Luke, X, 1.

——. A Confessor's Mass-day, Matt., X, 26. A., II, XLIII, In Natale unius Confessoris, no text; D. R, 188, 15, no text.

——. Mass-day of Many Confessors, Luke, XII, 35; Matt., XXIV, 42. First text, W[83].

——. A Martyr's Mass-day, Matt., X, 37. D. R, 84, "In vigilia unius Martyris."

——. Mass-day of Many Martyrs, Matt., X, 16. A., II, XLII; D. R, 92–162, no text.

——. Women Saints' Mass-day, Matt., XXV, 1. A., II, XLIV, In Natale SS. Virginum, no text.

Midwinter.

I have followed Bouterwek (*Cxlendcwide*) in beginning my Notes to the Rubrics at Midwinter, because that was regarded by many of the Anglo-Saxons as the proper beginning of the year, and because it serves to introduce other dates,—8th Mass-day to Midwinter, 12th Even, 12th Day, etc.—that would not otherwise be understood.

Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, XV (M. *P. L.*, 90, 356; Giles, VI, 178), tells us: "Incipiebant (i. e., antiqui Anglorum populi) autem annum ab octavo Calendarum Januariarum die ubi nunc Natale Domini celebramus. Et ipsam noctem nunc nobis sacrosanctam, tunc gentili vocabulo Modranicht, id est, matrum noctem appellabant ob causam, ut suspicamur, ceremoniarum quas in eo pervigiles agebant."

This has caused much discussion. Hickes, *Antiquae Litt. Septent., etc.*, I, 309, would explain Moedrenicht or Modrenicht as "parens aliarum noctium." Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* (Stallybrass), I, 753, accepts Bede's explanation, but suggests in a note that "modre nicht" may be "muntere nacht," watchful night. Bouterwek (*Cædmon*, Glossary s. v. Niht) shares Hickes' view that the night received its name, because with it the nights (days) of the New Year began. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. v. "Weihen" renders it "der Mütter Nächte;" and Mogk, "Mythologie," § 84, Paul's *Grundriss*, I, 1126, says of the word: "Ein Wort das auf die Verehrung der Matronae römisch-germanischer Inschriften der altn. dísar hinweist: es sind die Nächte die den weiblichen Schutzgeistern den Seelen Verstorbener geweiht sind." Elton, *Origins of English History* (1890), 257, 272, cites many references to the Germanic "Mothers" myth, but thinks that Modrenicht was so called because the women took part in a nocturnal watch. This is on a par with Turner's suggestion, *History of Anglo-Saxons* (1836), I, 233, that the night received its name from the worship of the Sun as a female divinity. The list of etymologies is full enough. I shall only call to mind, in this connection, the mysterious "Mothers" of Goethe's *Faust* (II, 5) and their classical origin (Taylor, Ed., 1890, II, 350).

I shall consider the beginnings of the Anglo-Saxon Year under 8th Mass-day to Midwinter.

The name Midwinter cannot properly be understood without a discussion of the dates that marked the beginning of the seasons. *Cœlendcwide, The Martyr Book* (*Shrine;* Wanley's

Catalogue, 105–109), and Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 312, divide them thus:

7th of	February.	Beginning of	Spring.
9th "	May.	" "	Summer.
7th "	August.	" "	Autumn.
7th "	November.	" "	Winter.

Elene, 1226, does not intend a different date:

" Wæs þa lencten agan
Butan VI nihtum. ær Sumeres cyme
On Maias Kalendas."

This apparent discrepancy is easily explained. Kalendae is used broadly (" Penitentiale Ecgberti," Add. 21, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 391) and implies here v Nonas (*Cœlendcwide*, 84).

Kal. Cod. Cott. Titus, D. XXVII, and Vitellius, E. XVII (cited by Piper, *Kalendarien*, p. 74) prove, by the two dates given for the beginning of the seasons, that the Spanish method (Isidor, *De Natura Rerum*, c. 7, § 5) and the Julian one were both well known. Durand, *Rationale*, VIII, 3, 21, p. 311, is a witness to the Spanish use in his day:

" Festum Clementis (Nov. 25) Hyems caput est Orientis
Cedit Hyems retro, cathedrato sermone Petri (Feb. 22),
Perfugat Urbanus (May 25), aestate Symphorianus (Aug. 25)."

For discussion of the Calendars, compare Piper, Id., 84.

A few words now upon the times of Solstices and Equinoxes. Midwinter (Dec. 25) and Midsummer (June 24) were regarded by many as the Solstices; by these followers of Roman custom the Equinoxes were placed at March 25th and September 24th. Ælfric adheres to this, in his Homily on St. John the Baptist's Day (June 24), Thorpe, I, 356, translated directly from the 287th Homily of St. Augustine (Förster, *Anglia*, XVI, has overlooked this connection): " Nis butan getacnunge þæt þæs bydeles acennednys on ðære tide wæs gefremod ðe se woroldlica dæg wanigende bið and on Dryhtnes gebyrd-tide weaxende bið." The *Book of Martyrs*

(*Shrine*, 95, 22; Wanley's *Catalogue*, 107) gives under June 24th "solstitia ðæt is on ure geðeode, sungihte." Bouterwek, *Cælendcwide*, 37, shows that "solstitium hiemale secundum quosdam" is mentioned in the Ephemeris of Bede under December 24th; compare Bede, *De Temporibus*, VII (M. *P. L.*, 90, 283; Giles, VI, 126): "Solstitia et Aequinoctia bina putantur VIII Kalendas Januarii et Julii, Aprelisque et Octobris." Bede[2], *Leechdoms*, III, 257, tells us, however, "upon the authority of Easterns and Egyptians and all men best acquainted with Arithmetic, that the Lenten Equinox is upon XII Kal. Aprilis, St. Benedict's Mass-day, and that the other three tides are adjusted by this." Byrhtferth, *Anglia*, VIII, 299, 15; 311, 28, and the Horologium (*supra*) follow the modern method (cf., however, Byrhtferð, 84, *Anglia*, VIII, 311, 8). Piper, *Kalendarien*, 83, shows how much other Calendars and Menologies varied in this respect.

Solstices and Equinoxes subdivided each season into two divisions: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 895, A. on foran winter, B. C. on forewerdne winter; 913, B. C. on foreweardne sumor, on ufeweardne hærfest. Ðæs oþre geare on ufan midne winter and þy ilcan geare foran to middan wintra; 923, A. on ufan hærfest.

Length of Midwinter. — Passages from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* show that this was a period of some duration: C. 1016, Innan þære midwintres tide .... þa æfter þat tide; D. 1053, Hit wæs se micla wind on Thomes mæsse niht and eac [eall] þa midewinter. It closed legally on 12th Day: Ælfred, V, 43, Schmid, 96, Eallum friðum mannum ðas dagas sien forgiefene butan þeowum mannum and esne wyrhtum XII dagas on Gehhol; *Leechdoms*, III, 164, her seȝð ymb drihtnes ȝebyrd, ymb þa XII niht of his tide. But the Christmas Season seems to have lasted twenty days: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 878, on midne winter ofer twelftan niht; Ælfric's *Canons*, XXXVI, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 450, and fæste ælce man twelf monað ælene Frigedæg buton fram Eastron oð Pentecosten, and eft fram middan wintra oð seofon niht ofer twelftan dæg; Canute, I,

16, 1, Schmid, 264, "and ne þearf man na fæsten . . . . of middan wintra oð octabas Epiphaniae, þæt is seofon niht ofer twelftan mæsse-dæg; compare Æthelred, v, 18, Schmid, 224; vi, 25, Schmid, 230.

Joannes Belethus, writing at Paris in 1160 (Durand, p. 338, c. 56), calls the time between Christmas and the Octaves of Epiphany "tempus gaudii, tempus regressionis." The Anglo-Saxons could have used fittingly the same expression. The Midwinter time could, however, be confined to a week. Æthelred, v, 98, where Schmid's text (p. 224) reads, "oð octabas Epiphanie," D, MS. C. C. 201 has, "xiiii niht ofer midde wintres tide." All difficulty is removed if we suppose Midwinter to end at the close of Yule-week.

Yule and Yule Feast.

In Anglo-Saxon texts Geol or Gehhol is often used for the date of the Nativity: *Shrine*, 29, 26, ærestan Geoheldæig; 82, 11, ær Geolum; 47, 13, on þone eahteþan Geoheldæig; 144, 14, se ærysta dæg in natale domini, þæt is ærysta Geohheldæg; Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, iv, xxi (19), 318, 17, þy twelftan dege ofer Geochol (Giles, iii, p. 84, 28, Epiphaniae); Laws of Ælfred, v, 5, Th., *A. L.*, 29, Schmid, 74, Gehhol (Cod. B, C. C. 383 (19, 2), H, Textus Roffensis, Geol, but on margin of H, Geohhol); Id., v, 43, Th., *A. L.*, 40, Schmid, 96, Gehhol (H. Gehhel). *The Century Dictionary* s. v. Yule is wrong in regarding the variants of Geol as mere blunders.

The etymology of Geol has never been definitely settled. Of the dozen etymologies, varying in degrees of improbability, I name the most important. Miss Elstob (*Homily on Gregory*, p. 29, Appendix) "follows the best antiquarians of her time in deriving it from ol(ale). I in Iol, Iul (Cimbri) as ge and gi in Gehol are premised to make it emphatic." She might have added that i or ge will serve as an ale-multiplicative. Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, i, 156, cites several of the old explanations of the word, all of them on a par with

that given by Spelman, *Glossary* s. v. Gula. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, 617–624, 702, although he regarded Gothic Iiuleis as a cognate, was inclined to connect Gehhol with Gehweol (wheel), it being long the custom to roll a wheel at the time of the Summer Solstice to signify that the Sun had reached the highest place of his circle (Durand, *Rationale*, VII, 14; Belethus, p. 365, c. 17). This is to be compared with an explanation of the Saxons themselves; Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, XV (M. *P. L.*, 90, 356; Giles, VI, 178): "Menses Giuli a conversione solis in auctum diei, quia unus eorum præcedit, alius subsequitur, nomina accipiunt" (compare *Shrine*, 153, 23–26; *Cœlendcwide*, 220–221, Bouterwek's Notes). Fick, *Indogermanisches Wörterbuch*, VII, 245, connects Yule with A.-S. gylan, Icelandic yla, Germanic jolen, johlen; the Gothic jiuleis seems to me to be the crux here, but it is not, like the other etymologies, an absurdity and is quoted with approval by Kluge, *Nominale Stammbildung*, § 74, p. 35, and by Skeat, *Etymological Dictionary* s. v. Yule. Yet another etymology has been recently discussed by Mogk, *Paul's Grundriss*, I, 1125: "Altn. jol, urnord, jul, hängt vielmehr sprachlich zusammen mid Ags. geohhol (Kluge, *Englische Studien*, IX, 311) das auf urgerm. jehwela zurückgeht und dasselbe wie lat. joculus ist (Bugge, *Ark. f. n. Fil.*, IV, 135)."

Descriptions of Midwinter festivities among the heathen Saxons will be found: Atkinson's *Glossary of Cleveland Dialect*, 1868, s. v. Yule Cake; Hazlitt's *Popular Antiquities*, l. c.; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, 15, 215, 702, 1240; Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, 402; Cleasby-Vigfusson, *Icelandic Dictionary*, s. v. Jol; *Century Dictionary*, s. v. Yule; Mogk, l. c. Mogk points out that to the early Germans "every day of Yule was full of importance for weather and fate, every dream was fulfilled:" traces of this superstition are found among the Anglo-Saxons, *Leechdoms*, III, 162, 24, 166, 16. *Concordia*, 490, gives at some length the Midwinter monkish observances; and the Anglo-Saxon Laws show the layman's regard for Christmas-tide (Schmid's Index).

It is not necessary to add any examples of Midwinter or of its synonyms, Christmas and the Nativity, to those cited by Bouterwek, *Cœlendcwide*, 38.

On Cylda Mæsse-dæg.

Marshall's Note to the Rubric (*Gospels*, p. 522) is grammatical: "Hic obiter notent Grammatici Cild in hoc versiculo usurpari pluraliter pro Pueros." I may supplement this, and call attention to MS. Cotton, Tiberius A., III, fol. 30b (*Leechdoms*, III, 185), where the natural gender of "cild" is so clearly masculine, that the word is opposed to "mæden" in about thirty cases: "Mona se oðer on eallum þingum to nytlic ys bycgan .... cild acenned wis, milde, ȝeap, ȝesælig; mæden eallswa." In *Ben. Rule*, Gloss, 115, 14; 106, 11, Cildra = Pueri; compare Bosworth-Toller, s. v. Cild.

The day is mentioned elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon: *Durham Ritual*, p. 47, In Natale Innocentium; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, v; *Concordia*, 521, betwyx cilda-mæsse-dæge (innocentium festivitatem et Octabas Domini); *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A. 963, on Cildamæssedæg; C. D. 1065, E. 1066, on Cildamæssedæig.

Eighth Mass-day to Midwinter.

Apart from its importance as the Octaves of the Nativity and the time of the Circumcision of the Lord, this date is worthy of consideration as the proper beginning of the Anglo-Saxon Civil Year.

The Anglo-Saxon Year had no less than five acknowledged beginnings:

I. Advent.
II. Christmas.
III. 8th Mass-day to Midwinter.
IV. Vernal Equinox (March 21st).
V. Easter—Beginning of Lunar Year.

I.

Although the beginning of the Church Year was not placed definitely at the opening of Advent until after the Conquest (Piper, *Kalendarien*, 89), Ælfric (*Homilies*, I, 98) can speak of the season thus (Thorpe's Translation): "Some of our service-books begin at the Lord's Advent, but not on that account is that the beginning of the year, nor is it with any reason placed on this day; though our calendars, in this place, repeat it."

II.

According to Bede (cited *supra*) the heathen English began their year at Mid-winter; and their Christian descendants followed their example; compare *Shrine*, 29, 26, on þone forman dæig in geare, ðæt is on ðone ærestan geoheldæig, call Cristes folc wurðiað Cristes acennednesse. The Anglo-Saxon Horology (*supra*) begins at Christmas, and Ælfric's *Homilies* open with the Nativity.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* often begins the year at Christmas. In the case of many of the Annals, it is extremely difficult to decide when their year opens, but the following years show, both by context and order of the entries, unmistakable signs of a midwinter beginning: A°. 763, 827, 878, 891 (change of hands in A makes this Annal doubtful), 913 B. C. (Ðæs oðre geare on ufan midne winter and þy ilcan geare foran to middan wintra), 963 A., 1009–1010 (doubtful, but point to Easter beginning), 1012 D. E. F., 1014 C. D. E. F., 1039 E., 1043–1053 (the most confused place in the *Chronicle*, but C. differs from other MSS. in beginning at Easter), 1045–1048 (D. E. F.), 1053 D., 1063 D., 1066 E., 1078 D., 1070–1090 E. (these "Wulfstan Annals" open at Easter), E. 1091, 1094–1096 (January 1st is here called "gearesdæg"), 1097 sq. (all Peterborough Annals (E.) begin at Christmas). The above represents more definite results than have before been obtained, but the chronology of the Annals has been discussed in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (1848), by Sir T. D. Hardy, "Chapter on the Chronology

of Mediæval Historians;" by the anonymous author of the *Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle*, 1830, who drew largely from St. Allais' *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates* (Paris, 1818); and by Earle in the Introduction to his Edition of the *Chronicle*. In his excellent essay Hardy notices—though this was done a century earlier in the MS. Notes of Waterland—that Florence of Worcester, William of Malmesbury, and Henry of Huntingdon all employ a Christmas year-beginning.

III.

Cælendcwide begins the year on January 1st (l. 3–7):

"On þy eahteoþan dæg
Hælend gehaten heofonrices weard.
Swa ða sylfan tiid síde herigeas
folc unmæte, habbað foreweard gear
forðy se kalend us cymeð geþincged," etc.

January 1st is recognized once in the *Chronicle* as the beginning of the year (1096); and its right to that place is elsewhere firmly established: *Shrine*, 47, 10, "On ðone eahteðan ȝeohhel dæg bið þæs monðes fruma þe man nemneð januarius þæt is on ure ȝeðeode se æftera ȝeola þæt bið se æresta ȝeares monað mid romwarum and mid us;" Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 305, 28: "Ærest we willað fon on Januarium forðon he ys heafodhebba and eac þæs geares geendung. Swa be him cwæð sum geþungen wita, 'Januarius dictus est quod limes et janua anni'" (this remarkable etymology is found in Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*, XII, M. *P. L.*, 90, 331, doubtless Byrhtferð's source). As the first day of the year, January 1st was the time of prognostications; compare "Prophezeiung aus dem 1 Januar für das Jahr," *Anglia*, XI, 369 (Vespasian D. 14, fol. 75 b), "Ðonne forme geares[1] dæig byð Sunendæg," etc.

A devout Churchman like Ælfric acknowledges under protest this beginning of the year (*Homilies*, I, 98): "We have

[1] Cf. Horstman, *Lives of Saints*, E. E. T. Soc., 87, p. 177, § 28, l. 5:
"The furste feste þat in the gere comeȝ we cleopieȝ ȝeres dai
Ase ore loverd was circumciset," etc.
Cf. Orm, 4154, 4220, cited by Bouterwek, *Cælendcwide*, 18.

often heard that men call this day the day of the year (ȝearesdæg), as if this day were first in the circuit of the year; but we find no explanation in Christian books why this day is accounted the beginning of the year. . . . Now our calendar begins, according to the Roman institution on this day, not for any religious reason, but from old custom." As an example of the same feeling to-day, I quote from the *Annotated Prayer Book*, p. 257; the Saxon Homilist of the 10th and the Anglican Prelate of the 19th Century use almost the same words: "January 1st was never in any way connected with the opening of the Christian year, and the religious observance of the day has never received any sanction from the Church except as the Octave of Christmas and the Feast of the Circumcision" (see Waterland's MS.).

Severe penalties were inflicted upon those who celebrated this day (Theodore, "Penitentiale" (673), XXVII, 19, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 293); yet as Byrthferð said (*Anglia*, VIII, 305, 31): "De Januario. Se forma dæg and eall se monð ys gehalgod mid Cristes gebyrd-tide."

IV.

Ælfric tells us (*Homilies*, I, 98): "þa ealdan Romani on hæðenum dagum ongunnon þæs geares ymbryne on ðysum dæge (January 1st); and ða Ebreiscan leoda on lenctenlicere emnihte; ða Greciscan on sumerlicum sunstede; and þa Egyptiscan ðeoda ongunnon heora geares getel on hærfeste. . . . Rihtlicost bið geðuht þæt þæs geares anginn on ðam dæge sy gehæfd, þe se Ælmihtiga scyppend sunnan and monan and steorran and ealra tida anginn gesette; þæt is on þam dæge þe þæt Ebreisc folc heora geares getel onginnað." Ælfric is here drawing directly from Beda, *De Temporibus*, IX, M. *P. L.*, 90, 284, and *De Temporum Ratione*, VI, M. *P. L.*, 90, 317; compare Bede[2], IV, *Leechdoms*, III, 246 (Förster, *Anglia*, XVI, 30).

In MS. Cotton, Caligula A., XV, fol. 126b, *Leechdoms*, III, 153, the physician commences his series "on the month of March which men call Hlyda, since it is the beginning, after

right reckoning, of all the year and the Almighty God on that month created all creation." Ember days were reckoned from March ("Dialogus" of Ecgbert, XVI, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 324); November is glossed by "þæs nygeþan monþes" (*Ben. Rule*, Gloss, x, 39, 10); and Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, IV, V (5), 278, 5, places Easter "æfter þæm feowerteogðan monan þæs ærestan monþes (mensis primi)."

Other Anglo-Saxon writers mention the Equinox in connection with the Creation; compare Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 309, 40; 310, 5; *Shrine*, 62–64; *Hexameron* (Norman), 8, 12; Bouterwek, *Cælendcwide*, 22, and *Cædmon*, LVIII, LX.[1] Durand, *Rationale*, VIII, 32, p. 309, speaks of the honor paid by certain moderns to "primus dies seculi" (March 18th), and Chaucer refers to the belief in "Nonne Preestes Tale," B. 367:

> "Whan that the month in which the world bigan
> That highte March whan God first maked man
> Was complet," etc.

Some of the *Chronicle* Annals begin at Easter (*supra*), but the annalist may have in mind the Vernal Equinox. Waterland, MS. Notes, Earle and the Dissector of the *Chronicle* make the mistake of mentioning Lady Day (March 25th) as the beginning of the year. This had no such honor until the end of the 13th Century (compare Durand, *Rationale*, VIII, 32, p. 309; St. Allais, *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, I, 17); and

[1]Anglo-Saxon poetry uses the Spring-beginning; compare Beowulf, 1133:

> "winter yðe beleac
> is-gebinde, oð ðat oðer com
> gear in geardas, swa nu gyt deð
> þa þe syngales sele bewitiað
> wuldor-torhtan weder. þa wæs winter scacen
> fæger foldan bearm."

The passage has occasioned much grammatical discussion. I differ with Heyne (Heyne-Socin Ed.) and regard "weder" as nominative and "sele" as objective; but, in any case, the year is represented as beginning in the Spring. Again, the cuckoo, called "sumeres weard" (Seefahrer, 53), "announces the year" (Guthlac, 716). It is needless to say that cuckoos do not sing in January, any more than English nightingales in July.

its new importance was doubtless due to the increased reverence for the Virgin so striking at that time (Waterton's *Pietas Mariana Britannica* (1879), 13, 130).

V.

Many of the Annals in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* begin at Easter (*supra*). The annalist may have had in mind the Vernal Equinox, but it was more probably on account of Easter's position as first day of the lunar year. A few references will show Easter's importance in this regard: Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, XI, M. *P. L.*, 90, 341; Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 309, 32; 322, 37; 329, 40; 330, 18, Easter dæg wæs se forman dæg on þære ealdan æ; Bede[2], *Leechdoms*, III, 248, 21, on sumum ȝeare bið se mona twelf siðon geniwod fram þære halgan eastertide oð eft eastron and on sumum geare he bið þreottyne siðon geedniwod.[1] See Hampson, *M. A. Kal.*, II, 417.

12th Day.

There is little to be added to the Notes of Marshall and Bouterwek. The Feast of the Epiphany had many names in the Anglo-Saxon Church: *Shrine*, 48, 4, þone halgan dæg æt drihtnes ætywnesse þæt is se drihtnes halga twelfta dæg, drihtnes fullwihtes dæg; *Cœlendcwide*, 11, fulwihttid, twelfta dæg; Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, 104; II, 36, swutelung-dæg; *Concordia*, 531, Epiphania is glossed by ætywincge; *Durham Ritual*, p. 2, bæddæg; *A.-S. Chronicle*, E. 1118, on þære

[1] Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, XV, M. *P. L.*, 90, 336, tells us of Embolismus or year of 13 months. When this occurred, an extra or Intercalary month, Thrilidi, was assigned to the summer. This has been discussed by Hickes, *Ling. Vett. Sept.*, I, 216. A representation of the signs of the 13 Anglo-Saxon months on the porch of St. Margaret's Church, York, is described at length by Fowler, *Archæologia*, XLIV (1871), 146 sq. We have doubtless a reference to this year in the difficult passage, *Percy Folio MS.*, Hales' Ed., I, 26:

> "But how many merry monthes be in the yeere,
> There are 13 in May (I say?),
> The Midsummer Moone (Thrilidi?) is the Merryest of all,
> Next to the merry month of May."

wucan Theophanie. The honor done to Epiphany by the noble saint Etheldreda shows its importance in the Anglo-Saxon Church (Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, IV, XXI, 318, 15): "And seldom in hatum baðum heo baðian wolde butan þam hyhstan symbelnessum and tidum æt Eastran, and æt Pentecosten and þy twelftan dege ofer Geochol." Truly, days of rejoicing! Compare Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* (Epiphania, Bethphania, Perchentag); Piper, *Kalendarien*, 93; Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, I, 13–19; Hampson, *M. A. K.*, Glossary, s. v.; *Ann. Prayer Book*, 257.

Septuagesima and Sexagesima.

R. Matt., XX, 1. On þone Sunnandæg þe man belycð Alleluia.

R. Mark, IV, 3. On þære wucan æfter þam þe man belycð Alleluia.

These Rubrics do not appear in Marshall, and therefore are not discussed by him, nor given by Schilter. They present, however, no difficulty.

In his Homily upon Septuagesima (II, 84 sq.), Ælfric tells us, upon the authority of Amalarius (*De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, M. *P. L.*, 90, 993; compare *Anglia*, XVI, 48), "why the holy congregation omits in God's Church, 'Hallelujah' and 'Gloria in Excelsis Deo,' from this present day (Septuagesima) until the holy Easter-tide." Over the interminable "whys" we need not linger.

Two Cotton MSS., Titus D. 27, IV, and Caligula A., XV, fol. 126, give rules "De Alleluia die invenienda." These were mentioned by Wanley, *Catalogue*, 248, 234; remarked by Hampson, *Kalendarium*, s. v. Septuagesima; and the second has been printed by Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 227: "On Kl.' Jan. ofer XVI Kl. Febr. loca hwær þu hæbbe X nihta eald monan, ofer þæt þone sunnan-dæg beluc Alleluia." Cockayne's translation, "Observe the Sunday. Hallelujah!" shows how completely he missed the point. By subjecting

the rule to proof we obtain January 21st, the Septuagesima of our year (see Tables). Byrhtferð's rules for finding Septuagesima (*Anglia*, VIII, 324, 31; 329, 2) are very similar.

Durand, *Rationale*, V, 6, 7, p. 165, tells us: "Alleluia was sung from Octaves of Epiphany to Septuagesima, and omitted until Pascha; from Pascha (Easter) to Pentecost Duplex Alleluia was chanted. It was included in the services from Pentecost to Advent and, like the Gloria in Excelsis, was omitted during the Advent season" (compare *Rationale*, V, 4, 4–6, p. 152; VI, 24, 18–19, p. 192; VI, 85, 4, p. 243; VI, 95, 1, p. 255; VI, 97, 5, p. 257; Belethus, p. 345; Kurtz, *Church History* (1861), I, Chap. 56, p. 219). In *Benedictine Rule*, XV, Alleluia is omitted only from Quadragesimal services; and nothing is said of this chant in the enumeration of Septuagesimal offices, *Concordia*, IV, l. 557. The custom indicated by the Rubrics persisted, however, in the English Church; Horstman, *Lives of the Saints*, 63, 411, p. 443: "From þat men loke Alleluia; for to com Ester-day;" compare Morris, *Old English Homilies*, X (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 53, p. 53). A Septuagesima ceremony of the Mediæval Church was the "burial of Alleluia" (Hone's *Everyday Book*, I, 100).

The correspondences between the Anglo-Saxon Rubrics for the days under discussion and the Gospels for Septuagesima and Sexagesima in other Churches are striking (Tables). A passage from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1127, Thorpe, p. 378, is interesting in this connection: "þæt wæs þes Sunendaies þæt man singað 'Exurge quare o D.'" The chant mentioned is the Introit for Sexagesima Sunday (*Sarum Missal*, 1868, p. 49; Nicolas, *Chronology of History*, 1833, p. 115).

During the Septuagesimal season, all oaths and ordeals were forbidden among the Anglo-Saxons: Canute, 16, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 158; Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XLIII, p. 208. Marriages were included in the interdict: Æthelred, VI, 25, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 137, Schmid, 230; V, 18, Schmid, 224.

Postquam impleti sunt dies Purgationis Mariae
(R. Luke, II, 1).

"And þæs embe ane niht
ðæt we Marian mæssan healdað
cyninges modor, forðam heo Crist on þam dæge
bearn wealdendes brohte to temple."
(*Cælendcwide*, 19.)

A few references to this day (Candlemas) may be useful. In *Concordia*, l. 542, the services at this feast are described in detail; compare Id. 484, oþ ciricgange sca. marian (usque ad purificationem sancte Marie). The day is mentioned often in the *Chronicle*,—I supplement Bouterwek's examples: C. D. E. 1014, to Candelmæssan; B. 1043 (C. 1044), x nihtum ær Candelmæssan; D. 1078; E. 1091, 1094, 1101, 1116, 1121, 1123, 1124–1127, 1140. It is found in the Laws: Æthelred, VIII, 12, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 146, Schmid, 244, leoht-scot gelæste man to Candelmæssan; Anhang, III, 4 pr., Schmid, 374, of Candel-mæsse oð Eastran (3 days work of Gebur); Canute, I, 12, Schmid, 263, Leoht-gesceot .... to þæm Sanctam Mariam clænsung (Codex Colbertinus reads, in vigilia S. Mariae in Augusto, i. e. Ascension of Mary on August 15th); compare Schmid, Glossary s. v. Lêoht-gescêot.

To Caput Jejunii on Wodnes-dæg.

This is the Rubric to Matt., VI, 16; and the day is mentioned often in canonical texts: *Benedictine Rule*, Gloss., XV, 45, 12; XLVIII, 82, 8, anginn læncten fæsten (caput quadragesime); XLI, 73, 15, oð andgin fæstenes (capud quadragesimae); Id., Translation, XV, 39, 16; XLI, 66, 14, oð lenctenes anginne (in caput quadragesime); XLVIII, 74, 3, oð lencten-fæsten = "Winteney," oð lenten (ad caput quadragesime); XLVIII, 74, 17, onforan lencten = "Winteney," 99, 25, on forme lentenes deige (in capite quadragesime); *Concordia*, 440, in heafod lencten fæstenes (in caput quadragesimae);

540, oþ heafud lenctenes; 564, 566, 597, fram heafde fæstenes on þam feorða weorodsæge; 1030, heafde on lencten. From these examples, one can see how completely Bosworth-Toller is mistaken when it mentions, "heafod-lencten-fæsten-es. n, the chief Lent-fast." The word is, of course, a literal translation of Caput Jejunii; and the form cited is to be regarded as a "crude form," to adopt Logeman nomenclature (*Ben. Rule*, Introduction, XXXIX); cf. angin læncten-fæsten (*supra*).

Ælfric, *Lives of Saints*, XII, p. 260, gives us interesting information in regard to the Anglo-Saxon Ash-Wednesday:

> "Þis spel gebyraþ seofon niht ær lenctene
> On ðysse wucan on Wodnesdæg swa swa ge sylfe witon
> Is Caput Jejunii þæt is on Englisc heafod lenctenes-fæstenes. . . .
> Nu ne beoð na feowertig daga
> On urum lenctenlicum fæstene gefylled
> Buton we fæston þærforan to þas feower dagas
> Wodnesdæg and þunres-dæg and frige-dæg and sæternes-dæg.
> Swa swa hit gefyrn geset, wæs þeah ðe we hit eow nu secgan.
> On þone Wodnes-dæg, wide geond eorðan
> Sacerdas bletsiaþ, swa swa hit geset is
> Clæne axan on cyrcan."

Lent proper, therefore, began with Quadragesima Sunday.

A few other references present themselves: *Canons of Edgar*, I, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 405, on þone wodnesdæg þe we hataþ caput jejunii; Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XVII (22), 104, 9, on wodnesdæg þe byð caput jejunii; *Eccl. Inst.*, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 310, capite jejunii, capite quadragesime; *Durham Ritual*, 5, 6, 8. Compare Kurtz, *Church History*, I, § 36, p. 219; *Annotated Prayer Book*, p. 266.

Friday in the "Cys-wucan."

The gospel for the day corresponds to the gospel for Friday in Quinquagesima in the *Liber Comitis* of Jerome and in the Sermons of Wycliffe. Marshall (Notes, p. 523) has given correctly the meaning of the Rubric, "die Veneris illo, qui statim sequitur diem Cinerum;" but from his citations of Spelman's *Concilia*, he omits *Eccl. Inst.*, XL (Spelman, 610;

Johnson, 476, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 486–487), which seems much to the point: "At this tide there should be abstinence from all delicacies, and soberly and chastely we should live. If any at this holy tide can forego *cheese* and eggs and fish and wine, it is a strict fast," etc., etc. Joannes Belethus, p. 360, tells us that, in his day (1147), eggs, *cheese* and milk were prohibited, but that (as in Saxon times) the enjoyment of these was permitted by St. Benedict. Compare here Bosworth-Toller's Note s. v. "Cys-wucan."

Butter-week in the early Church (Kurtz, *Church History*, I, 359, Par. 56, § 7) was the precursor of the Anglo-Saxon Cheese-week—the last week that cheese could be eaten before Lent began.

Halgan Dæg.

Halgan Dæg is Quadragesima Sunday.

(1). Marshall (p. 522) makes this general statement: "In citeriorum seculorum Rubricis quas vidi omnibus Evangelii paragraphus assignatur Dominicae primae Quadragesimali." Quadragesima is in fact the only day to which this reading, Matt., IV, 1, could with propriety be assigned, and a reference to my Tables will prove the truth of Marshall's observation.

(2). Marshall cites Spelman's *Concilia*, p. 610 (Thorpe, *A. L.*, 484), "on þære nihstan wucan ær halgan niht." The context shows that "halgan niht" is Quadragesima Sunday. Marshall's arguments from example may be supplemented.

(3). Halgan Dæg appears as a variant of Quadragesima. The MSS. (Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XXIII (47), 117, 14) differ widely: B. (C. C. C. C. S. 14) we forbeodaþ ordal and aþas . . . . fram Septuagesima oð fiftene niht ofer Eastran; K. (Cott. Tib. A., III) and for feowertinum nihtum ær haligan dæge; C. (C. C. C. C. S. 18) fram ær halgan dæge, etc. Like so much of Wulfstan, this passage is taken directly from the Laws (Canute, Schmid, I, 264), and fram Septuagesima oð XV nihton ofer Eastron.

(4). Wanley, *Catalogue*, 234, mentions a rule, "De Inveniendo die Sancto" (Caligula A., XV, fol. 127); and again, p. 284, "Regula ad inveniendum diem qui dicitur Alleluia, sicut et Diem Sanctum et Diem Paschatis" (Titus D., 27, IV). The first of these has been printed, Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 227: "On Februarius ofer VII id febr. loca hwær þu finde tweigra nihta ealde monan; ofer þæt on þone sunnan-dæg bið halga dæg." Cockayne renders this wrongly, "the next Sunday will be a holy day." If the rule is applied, the date discovered, February 11th, will be found to correspond to the Quadragesima Sunday of our arbitrary year (Tables). The rule given by Byrhtferð (*Anglia*, VIII, 329, 13) for finding the First Sunday in Lent should be compared with the one that I have cited.

The Anglo-Saxon Lent.

Ælfric discusses in his Homily on Quadragesima (I, 178) the Lenten "tithing days"—he is translating from Gregory's 16th Homily (M. *P. L.*, 76, 1137, par. 1494): "Why is this fast computed for forty days? In every year there are reckoned three hundred and sixty-five days; now, if we tithe these yearly days, then will there be six and thirty tithing days (teoðing-dagas), and from this day to the holy Easter-day are two and forty days: take then the six Sundays from that number, then there will be six and thirty days of the year's tithing-days reckoned for our abstinence." Compare *Blickling Homilies*, 35, 17; *Lives of the Saints*, XII, 1; Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XVII (22), "Sermo in XL," p. 102, 19; LV (1a), 283, 28.

The addition of four days to the Lenten fast was made after the death of Gregory or, as some say, by Gregory himself (M. *P. L.*, 78, 307, "In Greg. *Lib. Sac.* Notae," 316; *Annotated Prayer Book*, 266), and is described by Ælfric, *Lives of the Saints*, XII (cited *supra*). Benedict (c. 530 A. D.) understood, therefore, by Caput Quadragesimae, Quadragesima Sunday; his 10th Century glossator and translator would

regard it as the day of Ashes. Ælfric, always orthodoxy itself, seems hardly to have regarded these four additional days as a part of Lent proper, but to have placed Quinquagesima Sunday "seofon niht ær lenctene." Since "lengtene" begins, therefore, on Quadragesima Sunday (Byrhtferð, 147, *Anglia*, VIII, 324, 32), and since Sunday is not a fast-day, R. Matt., XXV, 31, Monandæg se forman fæstendæg is perfectly correct (compare "Capitula secundum Lucam," Lindisfarne MS., Cott., Nero D., 4, fol. 129b, col. 1, Skeat, 1, "xlgisima feria II"); otherwise we must suppose with Marshall that the Rubric is used in a broad sense like R. Mark, IX, 2, on sæterndæg on þære forman fæstenwucan.

Lent is mentioned frequently in Anglo-Saxon texts: Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, VI, 172, 6, þæt feowertiglecan fæstan ær Eastrum; III, XVII, 230, 9, "alle tid þæs feowertiglecan fæstenes ær Eastrum; *Ben. Rule*, Translation, XLI, 66, 5, over eallencten = in quadragesima; XLII, 67, 3, on fæstendagas = dies jejunii; XLVIII, 74, 10, on lenctenfæsten = in quadragesime diebus; 74, 12, on þam fæstendagum = in quibus diebus quadragesime; XLIX, 76, 5, on lencten fæstenne = istis diebus quadragesime; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1048, on lengtene and þæs sylfan lentenes; D. 1071 (E. 1070), on lengten; E. 1088, innan þam lengtene; 1092, to þam længtene; 1106, onforan længtene .... on þære forman længten wucan; 1110, to foran længtene; 1122, 1127, on þone lenten tyde; 1127, eall þæt lenten tid; Wulfstan, *Homilies*, LVIII, 305, 21; XVII (22), "Sermo in XL," 102, 12; Assmann, Grein's *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, XL, 140 (Ermahnung zu Christlichem Leben —Larspell S. Dominica, III in XL). Marshall's Note on "Clean Lent" may be reinforced by examples: Wulfstan, *Homilies*, LV (1a), 284, 18, M. þ. l. eow eallum is cuð þæt þes gearlica ymbrene us gebringð efne nu þa clænan tid lenctenlices fæstenes; 284, 29, mid clænum fæstene and mid clænum geþance; 285, 31, on þisum clænum timan; compare *Blickling Homilies*, 39, 1; Hampson, *M. A. Kalendarium* s. v. "Clean Lent."

The Anglo-Saxon Lenten Laws were very strict. Lent-breech (lencten-bryce) of any sort must be doubly atoned (Ælfred, 5, § 5, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 29, Schmid, 74; Id., 40, Th., 39, Schm., 93–94; Canute, 48, Th., 173, Sch., 298); anyone who in Lent gave out holy law to the people without leave must pay a "bot" of CXX shillings (l. c.); and ordeals and oaths were not permitted at this time (Canute, I, 17, Th., 158, Schm., 264). Church canons were equally severe: "Excerptions" of Ecgbert, CVIII, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 335, "qui in Quadragesima ante Pascha, I annum poeniteat, nupserit" (the scribe inserts not without humor, "cum propria conjuge"); *Eccl. Inst.*, XXIII, Th., 487, contains another such injunction; Id., XXXVII, Th., 486, XLI, Th., 487, treat particularly of the details of the fast (cf. Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, XVII, 238, 29; III, XX, 246, 34; V, II, 388, 8); Id., XXXVI, Th., 484, prescribes the time of confession (the Lent Shrift is given in MSS., Royal 2 B. V., and Cott., Tib. A., III, fol. 52ro, printed by H. Logeman, "Anglo-Saxonica Minora," *Anglia*, XII, 513); Id., XLI, XLIV, Th., 487, direct frequent communion at this season.

Myd-fæstene.

The perfect sequence of the Myd-fæstene and Myd-lentene Rubrics proves the identity of the two seasons. The generic name (fæsten) is here, as elsewhere, adapted to the greatest of yearly fasts; compare German Mittfasten.

Homilies, "In Media Quadragesima," are cited frequently by Wanley; and Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, XII, and *Lives of the Saints*, XIII, are devoted to this Sunday. The day is mentioned, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1047, Her on þisum geare wæs mycel gemot on Lundene to mid-festene = C. 1050, to mid-lencten; E. 1055, VII nihton ær midlenctene (Witena gemot); E. 1093, to midlengtene. Mid-lenten was sometimes called "Laetare Hierusalem" (Spelman, *Glossary* s. v.); sometimes "Dominica Refectionis" or "Refreshment Sunday"

(Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, I, 65); and, in the French Church, Mî Carême (*Ann. Prayer Book*, 272).

Sunday, 5th Week in Lent.

In his Homily upon this Sunday (*Homilies*, II, XIII, 224), Ælfric tells us: "This tide from this present day until the holy Easter-tide is called CHRIST'S PASSION TIDE (CRISTES ÐROWUNG-TID), and all God's ministers in the holy church with their church-services honor and in remembrance hold his passion, through which we were all redeemed. Our books also say, that we should hold these fourteen days with great earnestness, on account of the approach of the holy passion and honorable resurrection of our Saviour. On these days we omit in our responses 'Gloria Patri' on account of our lament for the holy passion, unless some high festival-day occur during them."

St. Gregory's Mass-day.

Bouterwek's Note to *Cælendcwide*, 37, needs but little supplement. Gregory's day appears in Ælfric's *Homilies*, II, IX (cf. Elstob's *English Saxon Homily*), in Bede's *Latin Poetical Calendar*, and in Cod. Cot. Tit. D., XXVII, but is omitted in Bede's *Homilies*, and in Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints* (Piper, *Kalendarien*, 71–75).

Thursday before Easter.

This day was greatly honored as the time of the Lord's Supper: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1106, on þa niht þe on morgen was Cena Domini, þæt is se þunres-dæg toforan Eastran; *Concordia*, 597, oþ to gereorde drihtnes = usque ad cenam domini; 633, on þam fiftan dæge se þe eac gereord drihtnes ys gecweden; 563, 667. On Cena Domini penitents were received again into the fold of the Church and com-

munion was administered (Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XVII (22), 104, 12; XXXII (28), 153, 6; LVI (42), 289, 24).

At this time began the "three silent days:" Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, 219, Circlice ðeawas forbeodaþ to secgenne ænig spel on þam þrym swig-dagum; II, 262, Ne mot nan man secgan spel on þam þrym swig-dagum; compare Ælfric's Homily, "In Cena Domini et V Feria et Sabbato Sancto" (Thorpe, *A. L.*, X, 464; Soames, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 1835, 310).

The "silent days" have been discussed by Bouterwek (*Cædmon*, CLVIII, CLIX); but one or two other references are useful in this connection. Stillness and due silence during the three days before Easter are enjoined by the *Concordia*, 630 sq.—at this place Zupitza's L. Fragment (*Herrig's Archiv*, LXXXIV) reads "swig-uhtan." In *Old English Homilies*, 2nd Ser., XVII (Morris, *E. E. T. Soc.*, 53, 101; cf. Morris's *Specimens*, I, IV, 11), 12th Century popular etymology—there so luxuriant—explains the purport of this "silence:" "Bitwenen his þrowenge and his ariste he lai on his sepulcre and swiede and for þat ben þe þre dage biforen estre cleped swidages." Id., XVI, p. 96 (*Specimens*, VI, b. 84), swimesse means a "mass without music." Id., XVI, 98, tells the befitting duties on the three days, "A shereðursdai[1] to absoluciun. a lange-fridai to holi cruche. an ester even to procession [abuten þe fanstone]."

Langa Frige-dæg.

Marshall institutes an interesting comparison between the names given by different nations to this day: Germ., Karfreitag, Gute Freitag, Still Freitag; French, Le grand Vendredi, Vendredi sanct or oré; English, Good Friday. The Scandi-

[1] Sherethursday long kept its name in the English Church: Horstmann's *Lives of the Saints*, 36, 360; 39, 220, 223, 244; 60, 25, On schere þores-day; Sir T. Malory (Caxton Reprint), 719, 32, On sherthursdaye. From the command contained in John XIII, 34, the Gospel for the day ("mandatum novum"), another name of the day, Maundy Thursday, was derived (Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* s. v.; Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, I, 83–85).

navian nations still speak of Langfredag (*Danish-English Dictionary*, Ferrall and Repp, Copenhagen, 1845).

Langa Frige-dæg is not a hapaxlegomenon in Anglo-Saxon: *Canons* of Ælfric, 36, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 449, "Man ne mot halgian husel on langa frige-dæg forþan þe Crist þrowode on þone dæg for us" (cf. Notes of Johnson and Baron, p. 407); *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1137, "On his time þe Judeiss of Norwic bohtonan Cristenan cild beforen Eastren and pinidon him alle þe ilce pining þe ure Drihten was pined and on langfridai him on rode hengen," etc.; *Concordia*, 633, langunfrige (MS.) dæges þrowunge = excepta Parasceve passione; 734, No gloss to In die Parasceve (cf. L. Fragment). The word persisted for a short time in Middle English: Morris, *O. E. Homilies*, 2nd Ser., 95, 9, on lange fridai; Id., 99, 28–29, a lange fridai (*supra*).

Marshall derives the name from the longa oratio or lang gebed—a very probable etymology: Following the very unsafe guidance of the "swig-dagum" etymologist, one would conjecture that "langa" referred to the weary hours of the Crucifixion (compare Horstmann, *Lives of the Saints*, 36, 366, p. 229, A gode-friday al þe longue day).

In the *Shrine* Good Friday is placed on the same day as the Annunciation of Mary (March 25th),—a date often chosen for the day in Anglo-Saxon Calendars (Piper, *Kalendarien*, 71). The martyrologist had in mind the supposed duration of Christ's life (*Shrine*, 67), "þa æfter twa and ðritigum ȝeara and æfter ðrym monðum wæs Crist ahangen on rode on þone ylcan dæg," etc. See the excellent note on Good Friday, *Ann. Prayer Book*, 284; Hampson, *M. A. Kal.* s. v.

Easter Even.

The day was an important one in the Anglo-Saxon Church and is mentioned often in their writings: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1047, on Easter æfen; E. 1097, oð ðet Easter æfen; Canute, *Laws*, 1, 12, Schmid, 262, and leoht-gesceot þriwa on geare, ærest on Easter æfen; Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, v, vii, 404, 27,

wæs þy halgan dæge þæs Easterlican reste-dæges. The Latin name for the day was Sabbatum Sanctum. Aldred's glosses in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* and the *Durham Ritual* are interesting: Cap. sec. Marcum, Skeat, 5, Sabbato Sancto mane = se seternes dæg halig arlig;[1] *Durham Ritual*, p. 29, Sabbato Sancto mane = ðe sæternes dæg halig arlig; compare *Concordia*, 833, Sabbato Sancto = on reste haligum.

Under this Rubric, the Harrowing of Hell tradition must be mentioned. The account in the *Martyr Book* sub March 26 (*Shrine*, 68), does not verge from the beaten track. In his note to this passage, Cockayne says that the Harrowing of Hell is a very ancient expansion of the text of Matt., XXVIII, 52, and cites Chrysostom, "Hom. II in Pascha;" Augustine, *Sermons*, XXXIX, 5 (2nd Easter Sunday), etc. The best Anglo-Saxon Version of the Legend is naturally the *Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus* (Thwaites, *Heptateuchus, etc.*, 1698; Bright, *A.-S. Reader*, 129, Selection, XIX, Notes, p. 219). Compare *Ann. Prayer Book*, 287.

Easter Day.

The Menologist (*Cælendcwide*, 56) ushers in Easter thus:

"Aprelis monað on þam oftust cymð
seo mære tid mannum to frofre
Drihtnes ærist ðænne dream gerist
wel wide gehwær swa se witega sang."

The movable character of the feast is then poetized. Bouterwek's Note upon this is very short and leaves much to be said.

So much has been written about the different times of Easter that I shall consider this but briefly. For a scientific discussion of the Easter question, see Butcher's *Ecclesiastical Calendar*, London, 1871; for references useful in the Anglo-Saxon

[1] This date can have no reference to "Sæternes dæg ær halgan dæg," R. Mark, VI, 45, as Skeat intimates, Mark, Introd., XXIII. It is noteworthy, however, that none of the Mark lessons are assigned to Sabbatum Sanctum (Easter Æfen) in the other versions of the Gospels or, for that matter, in any other Rubrics that I have seen (compare Tables).

field, compare Bede's *Eccl. Hist.* (often); Bede's *De Temporibus*, XIII–XV, M. *P. L.*, 90, 286–287, Giles, VI, 129; Theodore, "Penitentiale," XXX, 4, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 295; Synodus Pharensis (Whitby, 664), Spelman, *Concilia*, 144; Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church* (1845), I, 50. The definite Easter rules, appearing in Anglo-Saxon texts, have, however, been rarely cited. I may mention a few of these: MS. Cott., Caligula A., XV, fol. 126a, *Leechdoms*, III, 226: "On Marti ofer XII, Kl. Aprl. loca hwær þu finde XIII nihta ealdne monan ofer þæt se niesta sunnandæg bið eastor dæg;" MS. Cott., Titus D., XXVII, fol. 54b, cited by Hampson, *M. A. Kal.*, I, 101; *Hexameron* (Norman), VII, p. 12, "And ne beoð næfre Eastron ær se dæg cume ðæt ðæt leoht hæbbe ða ðeostru oferswiðed, ðæt is ðæt se dæg beo lengra ðonne seo niht." Compare Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 309, 37; 310, 40; 322, 30; 324, 34.

Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, XCV, has discussed at length the connection between Easter and Eastre, a heathen Goddess, mentioned by Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, Chap. XV. In *O. E. Homilies* (Morris), 2nd Ser., 97, 99, the popular etymologist, to whose mind consistency was never a bugbear, tells us: "þis dai is cleped estrene dai þat is aristes dai;" "þis dai is cleped estre dai, þat is estene dai and te este (dainty) is husel" ("hu-sel = how good"). For a safer etymology, compare Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* s. v. "Easter;" Kluge, *Etym. Wörtb.* s. v. "Ostern."

Bouterwek, l. c., has mentioned Gospel examples of the word. A number from other sources may be useful: Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, II, II (2), 98, 19, ne woldon Eastron healdan in heora tid; II, II (2), 102, 11, rihte Eastron; II, III (4), 106, 31, þa symbelnesse Eastrana and þone dæg þære drihtenlican æriste; II, III (4), 108, 3, in gehealde rihtra Eastrana; II, VIII (9), 122, 14, þy ærestan Eastordæge; II, VIII (9), 122, 26, þære ilcan neahte þære halgan Eastrena; III, IV, 164, 129; III, XIV, 206, 1; 206, 20, 22, on þara Eastra mærsunge; III, XVIII (26), 240, 4, in þære Easterlican symbelnesse; compare III, XX, 246, 34; V, VI (7), 404, 27; V, XVI, 446, 25;

v, xvi, 454, 24; v, xvii, 456, 21; v, xix, 468–470; v, xx, 472, 8; v, xx, 474, 1; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 627, 641, 878 (C. 879), 1053, on Eastron; E. 639, Ercenbriht ærest Engliscra cininga, he gesette Eastor fæsten; 853, 872, A. 917 (B. C. D. 914), C. 979, C. D. E. 1010, ofer Eastron; A. 716, þæt hie Eastron on ryht healdan = D. E. on rihtum Eastrum; D. E. 774, on Eastertid; A. D. E. 878 (C. 879), C. 1053, on Eastran; A. C. 892 (B. 891), ofer Eastran ymbe gang-dagas oþþe ær; A. 921, foran to Eastron; C. D. E. 1012; C. D. E. 1016, toforan þam Eastron; C. 1012, wæs Easter dæg on ðam datarum Idus Aprilis = F. þa wæran Eastran Id. April; C. D. 1016, on ðone sunnan efen Octab. Pasce þa wæs xiii Kl. Mai; C. D. 1043 (E. F. 1042), on forman Easter daeig . . . . C. E. þa wæron Eastron on iii Non. April; E. 1061, innan þære Easter wucan on xiiii Kal. Mai; C. D. 1066, to þam Eastron—þa wæron efter þam middanwinter and wæron þa Eastran on þone dæg xvi Kal. Mai; E. 1086, 1087, 1096, to þam Eastron; D. 1067, on þisan Eastron, þa wæron Eastren on x Kal. April; E. 1095, on þisum geare wæron Eastron on viii Kal. April., and þa uppan Eastron; 1097, þa togeanes Eastron; 1116, æfter Eastron; 1122, on Pasches; 1123, eall Eastren-tyde; 1125, on Eastran daei; 1127, an to Eastren; 1130, æfter Easterne; 1100, 1104, 1105, 1107, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1113, 1116, to Eastron (the plural in these examples is the ordinary Anglo-Saxon use; cf. Bouterwek, *Id.*, xcvi); *Benedict. Rule*, Gloss, viii, 37, 5; xli, 73, 16, oð Eastran = usque in Pascha; viii, 37, 10; xv, 45, 18, fram Eastran = a Pascha; xv, 45, 10; xli, 73, 4, fram þære haligan Eastran = a sancto Pascha; Id., Translation, vii, 32, 10, oþ Eastron ("Winteney," fort Eastron); vii, 32, 19; x, 34, 7; xv, 39, 14, 21, 22; xlviii, 73, 8, from Eastron = a Pascha; xli, 65, 13, fram þam halgan Eastrun oð pentecosten; xlix, 77, 11, þara Eastrona ("Winteney," 103, 3, þa Eastre tid); *Blickling Homilies*, 35, 31, Easterlican; 35, 34, Easterdagas; 67, 24; 71, 24, Eastrum; 83, 7, Eastorlic; Ælfric, *Homilies*, i, 178, 23, oð ðone

halgan Easter dæg; I, 182, 3, seo halige Easter-tid; I, 216, 33, on þone Easterlican sunnan-dæg; I, 296, 20, fram ðære halgan Easter-tide; I, 310, 22, fram ðam halgan Easterlican dæge; II, 30, 5; 40, 11; 156, 14, on Easter-tide; II, 30, 33; 84, 29, ær Eastron; II, 32, 14, on þam ðriddan Easterlicum dæge (Easter Tuesday); II, 30, 36, on þam Easter dæge; II, 84, 21, oð þa halgan Easter-tide; II, 84, 30, on þam saternes-dages þære Easterlican wucan; II, 88, 5, his heofonlican Easter-tide; II, 278, 17, Crist is ure Easter-tide; II, 156, 14; 242, 21; 252, 10; 260, 6; 278, 13; 282, 31; 380, 28; Ælfric, "Homily upon John, XI, 47–54," Assmann, Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, p. 67, l. 60, Hyt wæs þa gehende heora Easter-tide, and hi woldon habban þone halgan Easter-dæg geblodegodne welhreowlice mid þæs hælendes blod; Assmann, *Id.*, 152, 13, ær ðam symbeldæge þæra Eastrona. The verb, "beon ge-eastrode" (Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XXIII, 117, 14, K (Tib. A., III)), has not been noticed by Bosworth-Toller.

The Passover of the Old Dispensation and the Easter of the New were closely related in the eyes of Anglo-Saxon Churchmen. Pascha is glossed by Easter; "it was their Easter," Ælfric tells us in his Homily upon John, XI, 47 sq. (*supra*). In his *Homilies*, II, 282 (cited by Bouterwek, *Cœlendcwide*, p. 23), he calls Pascha Faereld; compare Id., I, 310; II, 266, 18. Byrhtferð, 134, *Anglia*, VIII, 322, 1, says, "Pascha is ebreisc nama ⁊ he getacnað ofer færeld," and, after giving a description of the Paschal feast, concludes, "Id est transitus Domini, hyt is witodlice Godes færeld." It is interesting to compare Old Testament passages: Ex., XII, 21, offriað Phase þæt ys færeld; Ex., XI, 27, hit ys Godes færeldes offrung = victima transitus Domini est; Lev., XXIII, 5, on þam feowerteoðan dæge þæs forman monðes (March) on æfen bið drihtnes færeld (Phase Domini est); Joshua, V, 5, 10.

The regard paid to Easter in Anglo-Saxon times is evinced by *Concordia*, V, 832–892, where the Easter-service is given in full; by Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, XV, II, XV, and by *Blickling*

Homilies, VII; by the *Durham Ritual*, pp. 24, 177; by Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 323, 330, 8; and by the *Martyr Book*, *Shrine*, p. 67. For the many civil and ecclesiastical Easter laws, compare the Indexes of Thorpe and Schmid, and Andrews's excellent Monograph, *The Old English Manor*.

Ofer Eastron be þære rode.

Marshall quotes from Æthelwold's *De Consuetudine Monachorum* (*Englische Studien*, IX, 296): "Singan hi þone antemp be þære halgan rode and þær æfter ænne be sancta Mariam." This will be found in the original[1] of the *De Cons. Mon.*, the *Concordia*, l. 240. A passage from *Concordia*, 348, is even more to the point: "Post sextam eant ad mensam hoc semper attendendum ut sexta feria de Cruce, Sabbato de Sancta Maria, nisi festiva aliqua die evenerit, missa celebretur principalis" ("On syxtan worcdage be þære rode, on saternes dæg be Sca. Marian"). This explains also R. Luke, X, 38, "Sæterndagum be Maria."[2]

Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 1828, III, Book X, p. 500, and Lingard, *History of Anglo-Saxon Church*, 1845, I, 422, Notes, have debated the idolatry of cross-worship in the Anglo-Saxon Church, and Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CLXV sq., has discussed it at some length. Space does not permit me to consider the question; but a few references, not as yet mentioned, may aid future students of Rood-worship: *Concordia*, l. 766

[1] This has been discussed by me, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, June, 1893.

[2] *Sarum Missal*, Appendix E, p. 614: "The reasons assigned at the beginning of this Mass (p. 521) for the origin of Saturday in commemoration of our Lady are: 1st. That at Constantinople the veil before her image was drawn aside every Friday evening at Vespers, and replaced at the same hour the following night; 2nd. That, when all the disciples forsook our Lord and fled, she only who had borne him without pain and knew that he was God, remained; 3rd. Because the Sabbath is a day of rest and she is the door of Heaven; 4th. Because the Feast of the Mother should follow that of the Son; 5th. For that on the day our Lord rested from labor the Service should be more joyous." For other references to "The Saturday," see Waterton, *Pietas Mariana Britannica*, 1879, p. 141.

sq., the full service described (cf. Durand, *Rationale*, VI, 77, 21, p. 229); 182, 242, 284 sq., 385, 665, 735, 833, 870, 895; *Durham Ritual*, p. 93, ad crucem salutandam; p. 150, Antifo' ad crucem; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 588, 16; 610, 10; II, 240, 23; 306, 21 (discussed by Bouterwek, l. c.); *Blickling Homilies*, 97, 10, "forþon we sceolan weorðian þæt halige sigetacen Cristes rode and æfter fylgeon and biddon ure synna forgifnessa ealle æt somne;" 27, 27; 33, 11; 47, 11–16; 90, 21; 191, 5; Assmann, *Homilies*, XIV, Grein, III, 164, "forþam we sculan weorðian Cristes rode and biddan ure synna forgifnessa ealle æt somne;" XV, 175, l. 169; 197, 214; XVII, 194, 34; Wulfstan, *Homilies*, 227, 8; *Shrine*, p. 67; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 885, "He (Marinus) sende him (Ælfred) micla gifa and þære rode dæl þe Crist on þrowode"= B. 883, Marinus sende lignum Domini Ælfredi cinge;" E. 1070, "ac hi (the outlaws of Hereward) rohton na þing gedon into þe mynstre clumben upp to þe halge rode namen þa þe kynehelm of ure Drihtnes heafod."

Gang-days.

The Gang-days Rubrics (see Tables) present some difficulties. Neither Marshall (Notes, 525) nor Bouterwek (Note to *Cælendcwide*, 71–75) makes clear the connection existing between the Gang-days and the Major and Minor Litanies; but Piper's Table of Calendars is helpful. My purpose is threefold:—I. To trace briefly the early history of the Major and Minor Litanies. II. To show that the Major Litany, contrary to the Roman custom, was placed on the Gang-days by the Anglo-Saxons of the 10th Century. III. To prove, contra Bouterwek, that the Gang-days always fell in the week of the Ascension.

I.

Durand, *Rationale*, VI, 102, 8, describes, upon the authority of Paul the Deacon (*De Gestis Langobardorum*, III, 24, M. *P. L.*, 95), the institution of the Major Litany: "The Major is in the feast of St. Mark (April 25th), and was created by the

blessed Gregory after a plague, the groin swelling." Durand then explains the three names of the Litany, the Gregorian, Cruces Nigrae and Septiform (*Concordia*, 847, includes in its service the Letanie Septene). Compare Notes to Gregory's *Liber Sacramentorum*, 393, M. *P. L.*, 78, 385; "In Ordinem Romanum Commentarius," XCVII, Id., 908; CXV, Id., 916; Glossaries of Spelman and Du Cange, s. v. "The Minor Litany," says Durand, *Rationale*, VI, 102, 4, "which is called also Rogations and Processions, was made for the three days before Ascension by Mamertus, Bishop of Vienna, who, on account of the plague of wolves and wild animals and the severe earthquakes, declared a three days fast and instituted Litanies. It is called Minor because it was established by a minor person, a simple bishop, in a minor place, Vienna. The other is called Major because it was established at a greater place, Rome, by a greater man, Gregory, and for a great and severe sickness." Compare the copious references, given by Du Cange s. v. "Rogationes," and by Spelman s. v. "Perambulatio."

That the Major and Minor Litanies early came into conflict in England is shown by the 16th Canon of the Council of Clovesho (747), Spelman, *Concilia*, 249. This is given by Bouterwek in his *Cœlendcwide* Note, and is discussed by Piper, *Kalendarien*, p. 42; but I insert a part of it, as necessary to my subsequent discussion: "Ut Letaniae, i. e. Rogationes a clero omnique populo his diebus cum magna reverentia agantur, i. e. die septimo Kalendarum Maiarum (April 25th) juxta ritum Romanae ecclesiae, quae et Letania Major apud eam vocatur. Et item quoque secundum morem priorum nostrorum tres dies ante Ascensionem Domini in caelos . . . . venerentur." Du Cange's references s. v. "Letania Romania" and "Letania Gallicana" show how correct the Canon was in its distinction between the uses of the two churches.

II.

The question now arises. Was the Letania Romana or the Letania Gallicana of Mamertus the major prayer-service

among the Anglo-Saxons? In Bede's *Homilies* and in his *Poetical Calendar* (Piper, 72, 76) the Major Litany is placed, in strict accordance with Roman custom, upon St. Mark's Day (April 25)—and these were written many years before Clovesho. Yet the Gallic custom ("secundum morem priorum nostrorum") of observing the Major Litany in Gang-week was certainly dominant in the time of Ælfric. Feria Secunda Litania Majore (Rubric, *Homilies*, II, XXI, p. 314), In Litania Majore Feria Tertia (Rubric, II, XXII, p. 332), In Letania Majore Feria Quarta (Rubr., II, XXV, p. 360) indicate the three days before Ascension. Ælfric tells us in the last mentioned Homily, that "to-day (Wednesday, Greater Litany) is the vigil of the great festival, which will be to-morrow (cf. R. John, XVII, 1, Wodnesdæg, Gang-wucan to þam Vigilian), because on that day Jesus, after his resurrection, ascended to his Heavenly Father." In *Homilies*, I, XVIII, p. 244, he attributes to Mamertus the establishment of the Greater Litany, and again, when, in his Homily on St. Gregory (Thorpe, II, IX; Elstob's *English-Saxon Homily*, 26–27; Bright, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, 90), he describes (p. 126) the establishment of the sevenfold Litany, he links it with no service in his own church. Hampson remarked (*M. A. Kalendarium*, I, 227) this peculiar usage.

Wanley cites in his *Catalogue* (see Index) many Major Litany Homilies on the Gang-days. An extract from one of these shows the close allegiance to Gallic usage (S. 5, XXXIX, 422, "Sermo in Letania Majore," Wanley, p. 119): "M. þ. l. cwæð se halga lareow hwæt we gemunan magon þæt we oft gehyrdon secgan þæt wise men ðurh haliges Gastes gyfe gesetton us þas halgan Gang-dagas, þry to fæstenne and on to gangenne ure sawle to þearfe." Another piece of evidence to the close connection between Litania Major and Gang-days is that MS. S. 14, XLV, 219, Wanley, 135, gives "Alius sermo Feria III in Rogationibus" as the Rubric of a sermon, which is elsewhere (S. 5, XXXVIII, 412, Wanley, 119) assigned to "Major Letania, Feria III." *Blickling Homily*, IX (p. 104),

which has the Rubric, "Crist se Goldbloma," is found with Rubric, "In Letania Majore, Feria Tertia" in MS. CCC. S. 9, h. 33 (Morris, Introduction to *Blickling Homilies*, p. xii). The Gang-day Homilies of the Vercelli MS. (Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 489) show the same usage; but no clue to date is given by Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, Rubric to xvii, Sermo in Laetania Majore. Byrhtferð, Ælfric's contemporary, has doubtless the Major Litany in mind when he says (172, *Anglia*, viii, 329, 21): "On morgen byð se forman gang-dæg. þa dagas synt gehaten Letaniarum dies on grecisc and on lyden rogacionum and on englisc ben-dagas."

The Roman observance was by no means uncommon; with the exception of the 10th Century, it was the prevailing usage in the Saxon Church. We are told in *Cœlendcwide*, l. 70:

"ðæt embe nihtgontyne niht[gerimes]
ðæs ðe Easter-monað to us cymeð
ðæt man reliquias ræran onginneð
halig[ra] gehyrste þæt is healic dæg
ben-tiid bremu."

The dates in these lines have proved a crux to scholars (see Grein, *Germania*, x, 422; *Paul u. Braune Beitraege*, x, 517; Holthausen, *Mittheilungen* (*Anglia*, December, 1892), iii, viii, 239). Bouterwek makes a happy reference to *Durham Ritual*, p. 36, "Hi sunt capitulae in Letania Majore þæt is on fif dagas," but his inference that the "five days" (April 20–25) were Gang-days is not warranted (*infra*).

The *Martyr Book*, which, as Cockayne claims (*Shrine*, p. 44) and Wülker is inclined to think (*Grundriss*, p. 451), is of the age of Ælfred, shows the Roman custom (*Shrine*, 74): "On þone fif and twentegðan dæg ðæs monðes (April 25th) bið seo tid on Rome and on eallum godes ciricum, seo is nemned Laetania Majora, þæt is þonne micelra bena dæg," etc. The Minor Litany also is recognized, *Shrine*, 79 (May 3rd): "hwilum ær hwilum æfter beoð þa þry dagas on þæm godes ciricum, and cristes folc mærsiað Letanias." These quotations from the *Shrine* were translated by Hampson (*M. A. Kalendarium*, i, 227) directly from MS. Julius A., x, fol. 86b.

In the *Calendar* in MS. Cott., Titus D., XXVII (Piper, 76; Hampson, I, 438), composed certainly after 1012 A. D., as it contains under April 19th the name of St. Alphegius, who died in that year, Letania Major is placed on April 25th. This is the case in later *Chronicle* entries: A°. 1066 (Th., 336), on þone æfen Letania Majore þe is VIII Kalendas Mai; E. 1109, and wæs se forma Easter dæg on Letania Major (a fixed date). Compare Hampson, Glossary s. v. Litania; Piper, *Kalendarien*, p. 90; Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, I, 109.

III.

I have already noted the error of Bouterwek's belief (*Cœlendcwide*, p. 24) that the Gang-week immediately preceded St. Mark's day. Byrhtferð's words (147, *Anglia*, VIII, 324, 35) apply perfectly to the days before the Ascension. "Se mona in gangdagum ne mæg beon jungra þonne an and twentig ne yldra þonne nigon and twentig . . . Gangdagas ne magon næfre beon ær V Kl. Mai ne æfter pridie IX Kal. Junii." The *Martyr Book, Shrine*, 79, sub May 3rd, keeps the Gang-days perfectly distinct from its Litania Major of April 25; and "þa fif dagas" of the *Durham Ritual* (*supra*) has nothing to do with the Gang-days. "To Gangdagon þæge[1] twegen dagas" (R. Luke, XI, 5) refer to Monday and Tuesday of Ascension week. Gang-days are mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:* A°. 913, 921, 922, 1016, 1063, ðа gangdagas (cited by Bouterwek); A. 913, 922, betweox gangdagum and middan sumera; 1016, to þam gangdagum after middan sumera (a mistake, Thorpe, p. 280). Compare Indexes in Thorpe, *A. L.* and in Schmid, *Gesetze*, and *Annotated Prayer Book*, 296–298.

Ascension.

In connection with this day the Rubrics, "On Wednesday in Gang-week at the Vigils" (R. John, XVII, 1) and "Thursday in Gang-week" (R. Mark, XVI, 4) must be mentioned.

[1] "þæge" is a rare but legitimate form (cf. John XII, 14, where the Hatton MS. reads "þa"). See Kluge, *Paul's Grundriss* I, 902, § 122.

The *Durham Ritual*, p. 127, mentions the Service, "De Ascensione;" the *Martyr Book, Shrine*, 80, places under May 5th. "se dæg þe ure Dryhten to heofonum astag;" and Ælfric writes a Homily for the day (I, XXI, p. 294). Ascension Day was sometimes known as Holy Thursday: Ælfred, v, 5, Schmid, *Gesetze*, 74, "se þe stalaþ on Sunnan-niht oþþe on Gehhol oþþe on Eastron oþþe on þone Halgan Þunresdæg . . . twybote swa on Lencten fæsten." In *Blickling Homilies*, XI, 155, the Rubric, "On þa Halgan Þunresdæg" is written in a later hand.

Pentecost.

Byrhtferð gives definite rules for finding Pentecost: 147 *Anglia*, VIII, 324, 36, "Se mona on pentecosten ne mæg beon jungra þon fif nihta ne yldra þon endlufon. pentecosten ne mæg beon ær VI Id. Mai ne æfter Idus Junii." Cf. Id., 84, *Anglia*, VIII, 311, 15; 172–173, Id., 329, 26. MS. Cott., Titus D., XXVII (Hampson, I, 439; Piper, p. 76), assigns the "Prima Pentecostes" to May 15th and "Ultima Pentecostes" to June 13th—an error, of course, as Pentecost can fall upon May 10th. The *Martyr Book* (*Shrine*, 85, 3; Wanley, *Catalogue*, 107) places "se micla dæg ðe is nemned Pentecosten" under May 15th.

Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, 310, draws from Beda's Pentecost Homily (*Anglia*, XVI, 20) an explanation of the significance of the day in the Old and New Dispensations. Compare *Blickling Homilies*, 133, 11.

The day is often mentioned in the *Chronicle:* A. B. C. E. 626, on þone halgan æfen Pentecostes; A. 972, on Pente costenes mæsse-dæg; D. 1067, on Hwitan Sunnan-dæg;[1] E.

[1] In an excellent article on "Lok Sounday," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, 1892, pp. 88–108, Professor John M. Manly has discussed exhaustively the Saxon Whitsunday. Id., Note 4, page 107, may be supplemented by a reference to the Mark Capitula in the "Lindisfarne MS.," Skeat, *Gospel acc. to St. Mark*, 5, "Post Pentecosten in jejunium feria, III . . . feria VI de albas Paschae" = æfter fifteig dæg fæstern wodnes-dæge . . . frige-dæg of ðæm hwitum eostres." See Baron, *Guardian*, Aug. 17th, 1859; Earle, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Note to page 347.

1086, to þam Pentecosten; E. 1087, on Pentecosten; 1099, 1100, 1102, on Pentecosten mæssan wucan; 1104, ðises geares wæs se forma Pentecostes dæg on Nonas Jun. 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1113, 1121, 1123, ofer Pentecoste wuce. For service at Pentecost, compare *Concordia*, VIII, *Durham Ritual*, 127; for Pentecost laws, Edgar, II, 3, Schmid, 186; Æthelred, V, 11, Schmid, 222; VI, 17, Schmid, 230; VIII, 9, Schm., 244; Canute, I, 8, Schm., 258; I, 16, § 1, Schm., 264.

Ember Days.

Baron (Johnson's *Laws and Canons*, 173–180) has made a careful study of these periods of fasting in the Anglo-Saxon Church. The etymology of "Ember" has long since been made clear (compare *Century* and *New English Dictionaries*); but Lingard, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 1845, I, 427, believed that "ymbren" denoted some part of the service of the day, probably the circuit or public procession made at that time. Ymbren, however, often occurs in the sense of "year's course" (Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, 104, 18, eft ymbe geara ymbrynum; II, 84, 24; 98, 20; 182, 26, etc.; compare Marshall, p. 528); and we are told of the Quatuor Tempora by Leo (442 A. D.), cited by Baron, *Id.*, 176: "ita per totius anni circulum distributa sunt."

The position of the Ember Days changed within Anglo-Saxon times. According to the "Penitentiale" of Ecgbert, Add. 21, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 391, "þa riht ymbren dagas" fell "on Kl. Martii on þære forman wucan and Kal. Julii on þære afteran wucan and on Kal. Septembri on þære þriddan wucan and on Kal. Decembri on þa nehstan wucan ær Cristes mæssan." This was the Gregorian arrangement, *Liber Sacramentorum*, 106, 400, M. *P. L.*, 78, 118, 391 (cf. Æthelred, VI, 23, and ymbren and fæsten swa swa Scs. Gregorius Angelcynne sylf hit gedihte). This arrangement was adhered to by Calendar Cott. Vitellius E. XVIII of the 11th Century (Hampson, *M. A. Kal.*, I, 422 sq., Glossary, s. v. Ember Days). In the "Dialogus" of Ecgbert (Baron, *Id.*, 180) and in our Rubrics,

the Ember Weeks were the First Week in Lent, Pentecost Week, the Week before Harvest Equinox, and the Week before Midwinter. They were established at their present position by the Council of Placentia (1095 A. D.) (*N. E. Dict.* s. v.; *Ann. Prayer Book*, 236, 248, 270, 673). The Ember Days were always on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays; compare Byrhtferð, 88, *Anglia*, VIII, 311, 38; 90, *Id.*, 312, 13. The *Concordia*, 584, 1036, gives the service at these times; and the Laws direct, on the Ember Days, fasting (Canute, I, 16, Schmid, 262), forbid oaths and ordeals (Æthelred, V, 18, Schm., 224; VI, 25, Schm., 230; Canute, I, 17, Schm., 264), and make the four Wednesdays prominent among the days of rejoicing for "theow-men" and freemen (Ælfred, 43, Schm., 96).

Midsummer.

"Đænne wuldres ðegn
ymb ðreotyne þeodnes dyrling
Johannes in geardagan wearð acenned
tyn nihtum eac we ða tide healdaþ
on midne sumor." (*Cxlendcwide*, l. 115).

Bouterwek's long note to this passage renders mine short. Hickes, *Ant. Lit. Sept.*, I, 219, cites from the *Martyr Book* this passage (*Shrine*, 95, 4): "On þone feower and twentez þan dæg þæs monþes biþ Sce. Johannes acennes þæs fulweres, se wæs acenned sex monðum ær Crist and Gabriel se heah engel bodade acennesse and sægde his fæder his noman ær þon he acenned wære." St. Augustine's pretty symbolism in Ælfric's Homily upon this day (I, XXV, p. 356) has already been noted.

Midsummer is mentioned frequently in the *Chronicle:* A. 898, ær middum sumera; B. C. 916, A. 920, 922, foran to middan sumera; B. 918, XII nihtum ær middan sumera (C. inserts pridie Id Junii); A. 922, XII nihtum ær middan sumera; C. D. E. 1006, ofer þone midne sumor; C. D. E. 1016, æfter middan sumera; C. D. 1040, foran to middan

sumera (E. 1039, VII nihtum ær middan sumera); C. 1056, VIII nihton (D. ehtan nihte) ær middan sumera; E. 1131, and þær wunode eall to mid sumer daei and þes oðer daies æfter, S. Johannis messedai; D. 1068; E. 1097, 1101, 1114.

For discussions of Midsummer, compare Belethus, Chap. 137, p. 365; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, 617–624, 757; Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, I, 169–187; Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 402; *Annotated Prayer Book*, St. John Baptist's Day.

St. Michael's Mass Day.

For a list of MSS. containing homilies for this day, compare Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, Introduction, XV. Just as Rome-penny was exacted at Peter's Mass (Andrews's *Old English Manor*), so "pecunia eleemosinae" was exacted in this time (Æthelred, VII, 7, Schm., 241; Anhang, III, § 4, Schm., 374).[1] A three days fast was also enjoined (Æthelred, VII, 7, Schm., 240).

All Saints' Mass.

"And þy ylcan dæge ealra we healdaþ
Sancta symbel ðara ðe siþ oððe ær
Worhtan in worulde willan drihtnes."
(*Cœlendowide*, l. 199).

Compare Bede, *Latin Poetical Calendar* (Piper); *Martyr Book* (*Shrine*, 144; Wanley, *Catalogue*, p. 108), ealra halgena tid; Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, 359; *Leechdoms*, III, 155, All Hallows an unfavorable time for blood-letting; *Laws*, Schmid, Index.

Advent.

The "Before Midwinter" Rubrics will fall, of course, under this head. A rule for determining the beginning of Advent is given in MS. Cott., Cal. A., XV, fol. 126a, *Leechdoms*, III, 226:

[1] The enumeration of Church Dues, MS. Tiberius A. III, fol. 89a., has been printed by Cockayne, *Shrine*, p. 208.

"Ælce ȝeare þonne þu scyle witan hwylce dæge man scyle weorðian, and healdan þone halgan sunnan dæg, adventum domini, warna þe þanne þæt þu hit naht ær v, Kal. Decemb' (Nov. 27) ne naht æfter III, Nonas þises sylfes monðes (Dec. 3) ne healde; ac on þison seofan dagum þu scealt healdan butan ælcere tweonunge þone dæg and þone tokyme mid ealre arwurðnesse."

Ælfric says of the season (*Homilies*, I, 600): "þeos tid oð midne winter is gecweden, ADVENTUS DOMINI, þæt is DRIHTNES TO-CYME. His to-cyme is his menniscnys. . . . Nu stent se gewuna on Godes gelaðunge, þæt ealle Godes ðeowan on cyrclicum ðenungum, ægðer ge on halgum raedingum ge on gedremum lofsangum, ðære witegena gyddunga singallice on þyssere tide reccað." At this time the Laws forbid ordeals and oaths (Æthelred, v, 18, Schmid, 224; Wulfstan, XXIII (47), 117, 15), and "wifunga" (Æthelred, VI, 25, Schm., 230; Canute, I, 17, Schm., 264). Compare *Durham Ritual*, 127, "De Adventu Domini;" *Concordia*, 487, on to-cyme Drihtnes = In Adventu Domini; Capitula in Lindisfarne MS.; *Ann. Prayer Book*, 116, 245–249, 592.

On Sœtern-dœg to Æw-fœstene œr Middan-wintra,
R. Luke, III, 1.

Marshall's translation (p. 532), "Sabbato Quatuor Temporum Adventus" is not strictly correct and his note shows how much the Rubric perplexed him: "Æw Saxonibus nostris significabat jejunium-nuptias. . . . An vero haec feria esurialis dicta fuerit Æw-fæsten quod fortasse seculis illis remotioribus aeque ac quibusdam citerioribus prohibitum fuisset majoribus nostris celebrare nuptias sub hanc Jejunii solemnitatem, definiant alii quibus copia librorum otiumque eos versandi suppetunt." Blessed with the "greater supply of books," Bosworth explains "æw-fæsten" as "a fixed or legal fast" (*Gospels*, p. 578; Bosworth-Toller, s. v.).

Are Æw-fæsten and Æ-fæsten identical? Æ means both "law" and "marriage" (Bosworth-Toller, s. v.); and Æw

appears with the meaning "law," Ine, Prœmium, 1 (Thorpe, *A. L.*, 45). In the place cited other MSS. read æwe and æ (cf. O. Frs., â, ê, êwe; O. H. G., êwa, êha, êa). Schmid, Glossar, s. v. Æwe regards Æw as a plural form of Æ. In any case, it is clear that we may regard Æw-fæsten as a variant of Æ-fæsten and not as a "jejunium-nuptiae."

The Æ-festene are thus described by Ecgbert, "Confessionale," 37, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 358: "Ðreo *æ-fæstenu* (legitima jejunia) syndon on geare; an ofer eall folc, swa þæt XL nihta foran to Eastron, þonne we þone teoðan sceat þæs geares lysað; *and þæt XL nihta ær ȝeolum*, þonne gebiddeð hine eall þæt werod fore, and orationes rædað, and þæt XL nihta ofer Pentecosten." Another description will be found, "Capitula" of Theodore, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 309. These fasts are elsewhere referred to: "Penitentiale" of Ecgbert, Add. 21, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 391, fæste XL daga, butan þam æ-fæstenum (exceptis legitimis jejuniis) and lengten fæsten; "Confessionale" of Ecgbert, XXIX, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 355, gif wif dry-cræft and galdor and unlibban wyrce, fæste XII monað oððe III æ-fæstenu oððe XL nihta; *Id.*, XXX. The word Æ-fæsten is used with a broader meaning, "Penitentiale" of Ecgbert, Add., I, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 390, and aa hwile þe he lifige, fæste Wodnesdagum and Frige-dagum and þa þreo *oðre* æ-fæstenu forga flæsc. In the Notes to Gregory's *Liber Sacramentorum*, M. *P. L.*, 78, § 445, p. 433, the three Quadragesimas or "legitima jejunia" are discussed at length, and their observance among the Gauls of the Sixth Century proved. Bede mentions them, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, XIX, 244, 22; IV, XXXI, 376, 9.

If Æw-fæstene is the Winter Quadragesima, to what Saturday in the fast does our Rubric apply? Without doubt, to the Saturday immediately before Midwinter. (1). In *Calendar*, Cott. Vitellius, E. XVIII, printed by Hampson, *M. A. Kal.*, I, 433, "Mense December in proximo Sabbato ante vigilia Natale Domini celebratio." (2). Of all the Ember Days in the year, this alone has received no gospel. (3). The gospel for the Saturday of Æw-fæstene before Midwinter corresponds to the

text of Gregory's Homily "In Sabbato Quat. Temp. ante Nat. Christi" (Tables).

To Cyric-halgungum. R. John, x, 22.

Marshall, p. 533 and Piper, *Kalendarien*, 107, show that each cloister had its Wake day. Church-hallowings are mentioned frequently in Anglo-Saxon writings: Æthelwold, "De Consuetudine Monachorum," *Engl. Stud.*, IX, 296, singan hi be þære cyric-halgung; *Concordia*, 546, 620; Ælfric, *Homilies*, II, 574; *Martyr Book* (*Shrine*, 136, 4; Wanley, *Catalogue*, 109), on þone XXVIIII dæg þæs monðes (September) bið Sce. Michael Cirican gehalgung; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 1065 (Thorpe, 332), and Edward Kinge com to Westmynstre to þam middanwintre and seo Cyrc-halgung was on Cilda-mæssedæg and he forðferde on Twelftan Æfen; Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 484, 13, Scenophegia, tabernaculorum dedicatio; 484, 16, Encenie, nove dedicationis (compare Belethus, c. 134, p. 364, Scenophegia, ante fixionem tabernaculorum in Septembri; Encenia, dedicatio in Decembri).

Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, XVII, 232, 3, tells us of Cedd: "He said it was the habit of those from whom he learnt the rule of monastic discipline, to hallow first to the Lord, by prayer and fasting, the new sites which they received for the erection of monastery or church." Wulfstan, *Homilies*, LIV, 277, 10, thus addresses his flock: "Leofan men ic wille eow nu cyðan ymbe cyric mærsunge þæt ge þe geornor understandan magan hu man cirican weorþian scyle þe gode sylfum to lofe and to wurðmynte gehalgod bið." Such advice was necessary, to judge from Ælfric, *Lives of the Saints*, XXI, 313:

> "Sume men eac drincað set deadra manna lice
> Ofer ealle þa niht swiðe unrihtlice
> And gremiað god mid heora gegaf-sprece
> þonne nan gebeorscipe, ne gebyraþ set lice
> Ac halige gebedu þær gebyriaþ swiðor."

This must have been equally true of Church-wakes to make necessary *Canons* of Edgar, 28, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 397, "and we læraŏ þæt man æt ciric-wæccan swiŏe gedreoh si, and georne gebidde and ænig gedrince and ænig unnit þar ne dreoge."

Useful references are: Spelman, *Glossary*, s. v. Wak, "Haec eadem sunt quae apud Ethnicos Paganalia dicuntur;" Hampson, *M. A. Kal.*, I, 351 sq.; Glossary, s. v. Wake; Bouterwek, *Cœlendcwide* s. "Michaheles;" Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, II, 1. A stanza from a song of the German Steiermärker (*Chronik der Zeit* (1892), Heft. XVII) will show how such an anniversary is celebrated in our own day:

"Und kimmt halt der Kirta
Da geh'n wir zum Tanz
Da wixt sie sich z'samma.
Recht nett auf'n Glanz."

Note.—With the exception of a few recent references, my work has been in its present form since May, 1893; but publication has been delayed by unavoidable circumstances.

FREDERICK TUPPER, JR.

LIFE.

I was born at Charleston, S. C., and received my early training at the High School and the College of that city. At the completion of my undergraduate work, in 1890, I entered the Johns Hopkins University. English was selected as my major subject; and, during the second year of my residence, a University Scholarship and a Fellowship in my chosen department were awarded me. My studies, main and subsidiary, have been under Professors Bright and Browne,—Adams and Emmott,—Gildersleeve, Wood, and Elliott. To all these gentlemen, I give sincere thanks for the kindnesses that I have received at their hands; and to Dr. Bright, in particular, I desire to express my warmest appreciation of the interest that he has taken in my career and of the impetus that he has given to my work.

FREDERICK TUPPER, JR.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
May 1, 1893.